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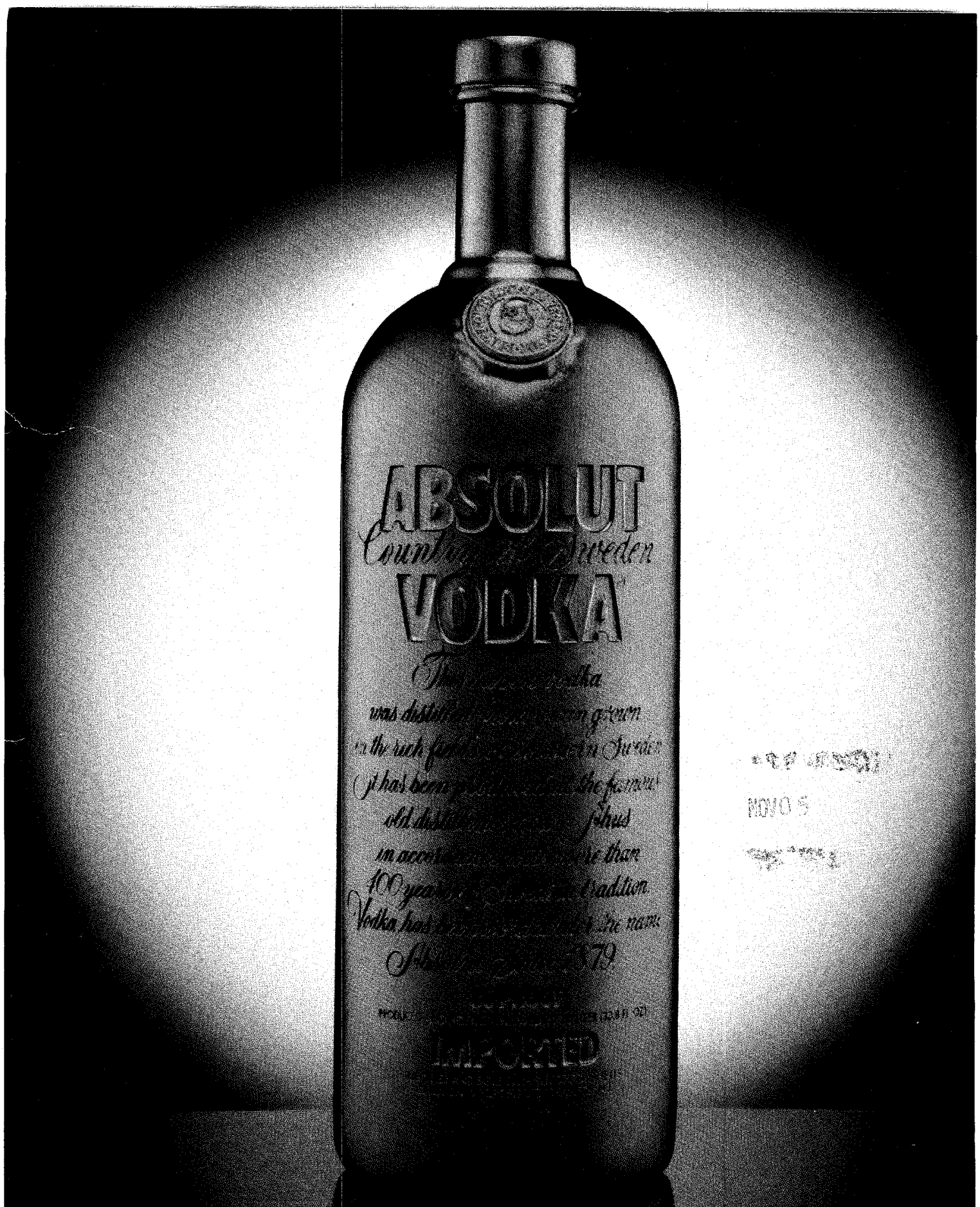

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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The Audit Bureau

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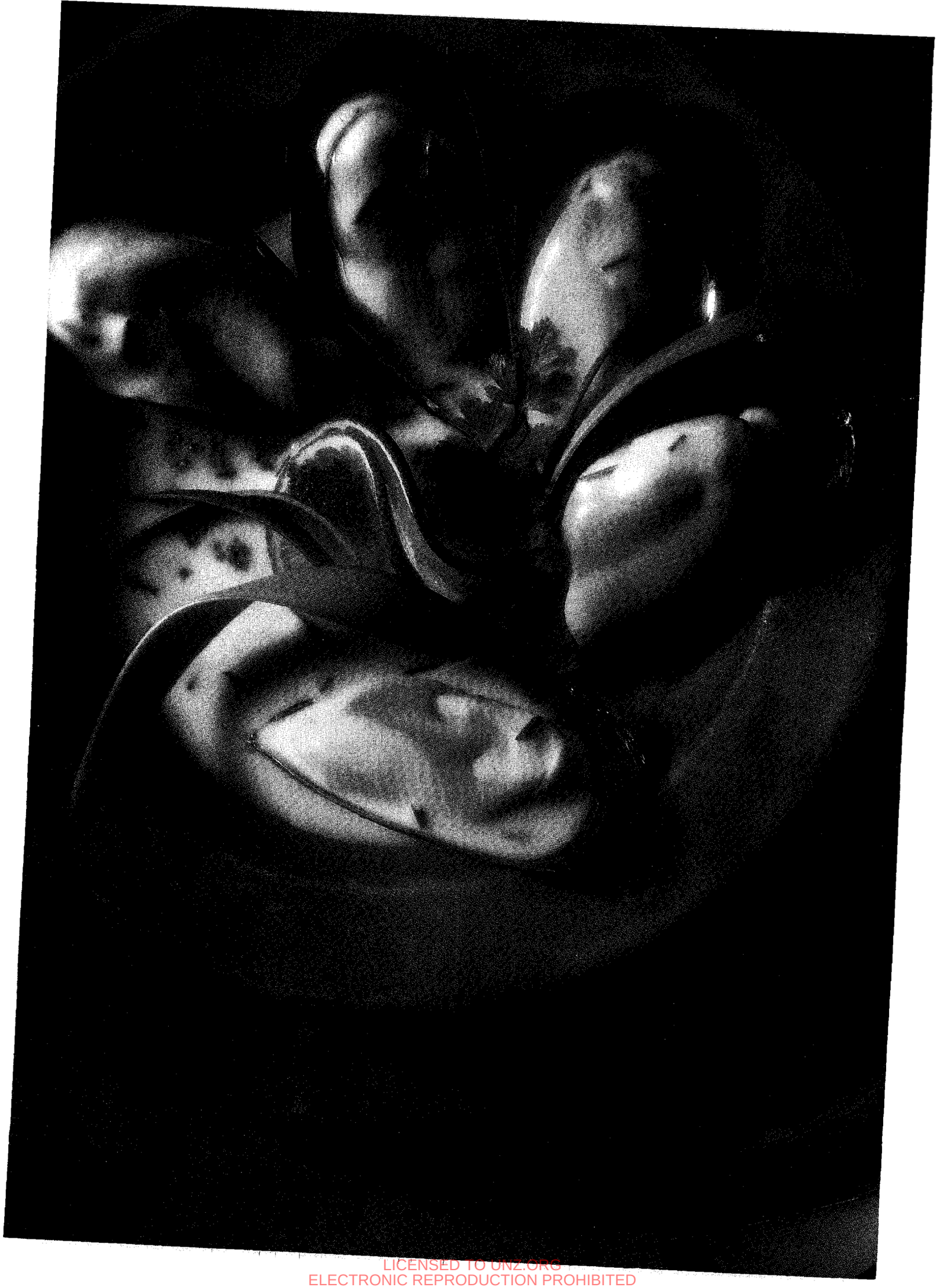

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LETTERS

The Darman Shuffle

Warren Brookes's excellent criticism of Dick Darman's gross miscalculations of the budget deficit and his pro-regulation stance left out the fact that Darman dismantled offices at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) which promoted free-market policies ["Dead Wrong Again," Oct. 7].

Over the past three years Dick Darman has systematically dismantled the OMB privatization office, which was set up by President Reagan by Executive Order in 1987. During the office's first year, more than a dozen specific privatization initiatives appeared in the budget, including non-emergency marine towing, specialized weather services, uranium enrichment, and map-making. The office scoured the budget requests of each federal agency, with a careful eye toward government functions that could be performed by the private sector. As a result of this relatively senior status within the Reagan Administration, the privatization office was able to bring new and effective leadership to the issue—long promoted by free-market economists and policy analysts.

But when Dick Darman took over as director, the office was immediately demoted in the OMB hierarchy. Its staff of nine professionals was whittled down to two, and nine months ago Darman abolished the privatization office altogether. This move was much to the dismay of many small businesses and entrepreneurs, who complained loudly, holding press conferences and calling for Darman's resignation.

Those who favor less government interference in commercial activities have found they have to do fierce battle with the Administration. Where they used to find a sympathetic ear, privatization advocates are now encountering apathy and quite often hostility.

Jeffrey C. Smith
President
Washington Policy Advocates
Washington, D.C.

Raise Your Arms

One of the most absurd paradoxes in America today consists of champions for First Amendment rights not realizing that their greatest guarantee of free speech lies in the Constitution's uninfringed right to keep and bear arms ["Eight Myths of Gun Control," Oct. 21]. That right allows us to protect ourselves, guard our loved ones, defend the country from tyranny, and maintain our freedoms. Those who oppose the Second Amendment, wittingly or unwittingly, weaken and incapacitate that society.

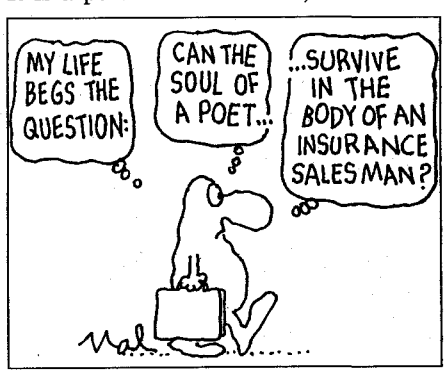
Donald B. Kates Jr. and Patricia Terrell Harris are quite right when they say that social-science research is increasingly supportive of the right to keep and bear arms. As a PhD in social psychology who has specialized in "deviance," I can testify that criminals in our society are more deterred by guns in the possession of honest citizens than by any law that has ever been enacted or by any police force that has ever been formed. Were it not for the media's biased and incorrect reporting, the American public would soon come to this realization on its own.

William L. Roberts
Los Osos, Calif.

Protecting Life

I believe that your comments on Operation Rescue reflect an appropriate balance ["The Week," Oct. 7]. You agree that abortion is evil, and that something needs to be done about order in our constitutional republic. You argue that debate should take place through proper channels of society, and not chaotically in the streets.

I abide by speed limits and laws in general, but I also support Operation Rescue. The current "law" defending the killing of pre-born babies does not deserve respect or dignity—only contempt. It is a perversion of nature, an evil law that ought to be greatly resisted. If we will not actively defend innocent children, who will be left to defend further encroachments upon civilized society?



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Abortion so cuts to the core of the meaning of life itself and so affects all that we are as a nation, that of necessity it is at the center of the great cultural battle in this country. It is a war that must be fought on a broad front.

Raymond V. Banner
Des Moines, Iowa

Fat to Chew

At the risk of being palatally incorrect, I wish to respectfully disagree with the comments of Digby Anderson ["Books, Arts & Manners," Oct. 7]. There are many faithful readers of NATIONAL REVIEW who consider snails to be garden pests rather than gastronomic delights. Yet, conservatives should be able to differ politely.

However, Mr. Anderson has the gall to bite the hand that feeds him by enumerating the sins of his hostess. Would he banish charity from the kitchen as well as "laziness, sloppy standards, and cultural relativism"?

David Hamilton
Irvine, Calif.

Ducking Gates

Your recent editorial concerning the nomination of Robert Gates to head the Central Intelligence Agency ["The Week," Oct. 21] contained an allusionary inaccuracy which I am sure you will wish to correct given your standard literary excellence. You incorrectly attributed to Monty Python a simplistic medieval witchcraft test: if you float, you're a witch; if you drown, you're innocent. In fact, this test, ridiculed by any self-respecting witchhunter, was outlined by comedian/actor Steve Martin on NBC's *Saturday Night Live*.

The Monty Python formulation, which appeared in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, is far more sophisticated: witches float; wood also floats; therefore witches are made of wood; ducks also float; so if someone weighs as much as a duck, she is made of wood, and therefore—a witch! Even the accused admitted that this test was "a fair cup."

Your editorial asserts that "[t]o cleanse himself of the charge of Reaganism, Gates tried to drown." All he needed to do was show the Senate Intelligence Committee that he weighed more than a duck.

Ava Rice
Wilmington, Del.

We stand corrected. —ED.

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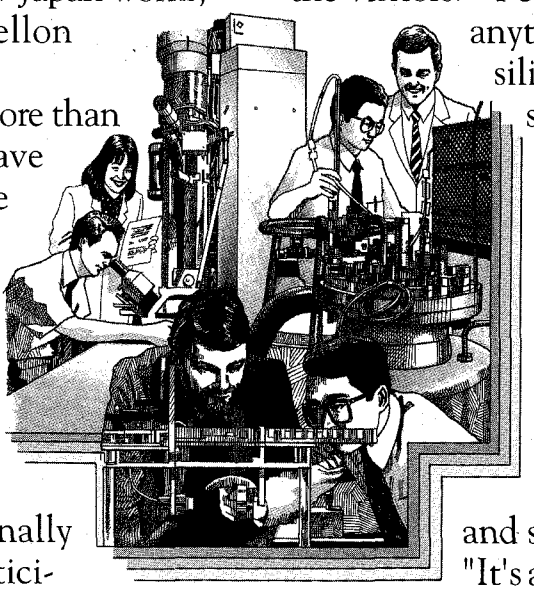

Dr. Artman is one of more than 40 U.S. scientists who have worked in Japan over the last six years as participants in Hitachi's Research Visit Programs (HIVIPS). The programs aim to advance science through collaborative research and to enrich participants' lives personally and professionally. Participants work side-by-side with Hitachi scientists on basic problems in electronics and information systems.

For Dr. C.A. Cain, chairman of the University of Michigan's Bioengineering Program, HIVIPS proved a welcome sabbatical. "For the first time in years, I was able to pursue new ideas without interruption," he says. "In my time there, I basically defined my research directions for the next five years."

HIVIPS participants were struck by the effort to make them feel at home in Japan. "One of the nicest things about the program was the friends I made," says Dr. Cain. "We still do joint research and exchange visits," he adds.

HCRL's research facilities impressed the visitors. "I could do just about anything to a piece of silicon that I wanted to," says John Snyder, a Stanford University doctoral student in electrical engineering, who worked on a new kind of transistor. The visitors also appreciated the natural beauty of HCRL's campus,with its goldfish-stocked lake and sheltering woodlands. "It's an oasis of calm in Tokyo," says Dr. Cain.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the HIVIPS program. We believe that it can make a significant contribution to science, to its participants' lives, and to a better understanding between the U.S. and Japan.

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FROM THE EDITOR

God and Man at Harvard

■ In 1983 I was a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School. An isolated token? Not at all. There was an Illinois Republican among the six Fellows that semester, who the next year was a delegate at the Republican Convention where she cast one of the two votes against the renomination of Ronald Reagan.

That's targeting of a precision the U.S. Air Force might envy.

Just kidding. Offering the whole of Harvard as a sort of intellectual *smorgasbord*, the IOP fellowship was a wonderful experience. So I returned last weekend for the Institute's 25th anniversary with fond memories and high hopes. And these were happily borne out—with two disappointments.

The first event—Senator Edward Kennedy's *mea culpa*—was so popular that I was not able to get into the hall. So I cannot confirm the cynical reports of its cynicism. Indeed, I would be reluctant to do so. When others are confessing error, we should surely err on the side of believing them.

That said, it was somewhat unseemly for the senator to follow his confession with a rousing denunciation of sexual harassment. After personal reformation, a period of quiet reflection is generally advised. Founding the Salvation Army should be postponed to stage two.

■ My second disappointment was the resounding defeat of Clayton Yeutter, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at the hands of his Democratic equivalent, Ron Brown.

Brown is a good debater—witty and ruthless. His finest flourish came when he denounced negative campaigning, condemned the Republicans for harboring David Duke, and piously led applause when Yeutter disavowed Duke. The students were much impressed by this negative campaigning.

If Yeutter felt intimidated by the general atmosphere of liberalism rampant—symbolized by the unprotested use of the liberal racist term "redneck"—I would not have blamed him.

But the real villain was George Bush, whose decision the previous day to endorse the Quota Bill had deprived Yeutter of any argument on civil rights. As a result, he floundered helplessly while Brown denounced "Willie Horton and Willie Quota."

Mr. Yeutter should turn to *The Almanac of American Politics 1992*, where Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, neither of them conspicuously partisan Republicans, write: "in fact it was the Bush campaign that presented the facts without any racial identification and it was the Democrats who played up the racial issues."

■ It has now become Established Fact that the Republican senators treated Anita Hill almost as viciously as they treated Willie Horton. Nonsense, of course. Virtually all of them praised her for helping to raise public consciousness over sexual harassment, thus implying that she was a "victim" when she was merely an accuser.

Not one senator had the wit to say something like: "If I understand you correctly, Miss Hill, you were subjected to some coarse remarks and unwelcome advances, tolerated these for the sake of a good job, maintained a false friendship with your persecutor in order to continue to gain favors, and decided to destroy him only at the point when doing so would gain you more favor from his enemies. Assuming these allegations to be entirely correct, is not their first implication that you are a 24-carat bitch?"

I suspect a general prejudice behind this senatorial nervousness. It is widely accepted that men behave badly (i.e., aggressively) about sex; but it seems to have been forgotten that women also behave badly (i.e., manipulatively) about sex. So any allegation of sexual impropriety against a man starts out with a good chance of being believed. We are not allowed, however, to think such thoughts. Call it cultural correctness. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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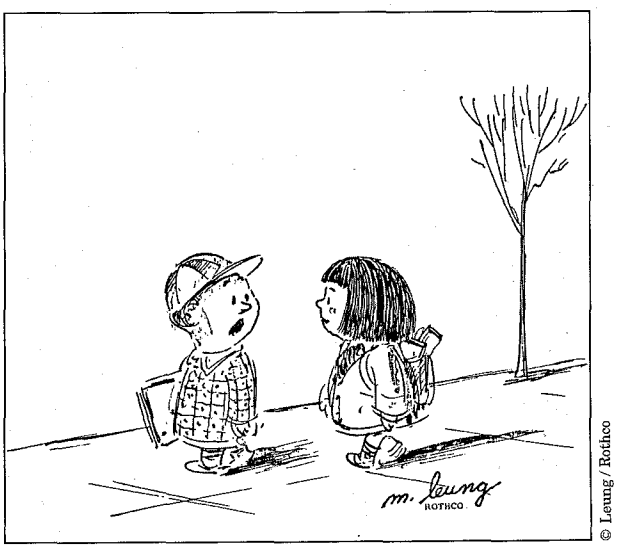
FOR THE RECORD

■ Who gained, who lost from Thomas hearings? NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll finds **Clarence Thomas** the winner: 34 per cent had more respect for him, and 23 per cent for **George Bush**. Meanwhile, 32 per cent had less respect for news media and 35 per cent for Senate Democrats. . . . Ohio Sen. **Howard Metzenbaum** (D.) recently blurted: "Nobody calls me a windbag . . . Some people even call me the conscience of the Senate." If so, *Boston Globe* report on favorable/unfavorable ratings of Judiciary members shows there's little good to be said of Senate: **Joe Biden** (D., Del.), **Orrin Hatch** (R., Utah), and **Arlen Specter** (R., Pa.) received highest favorable ratings with 63, 50, and 48 per cent respectively, while **Edward Kennedy** (D., Mass.) and Mr. Conscience led unfavorables with 54 and 31 per cent. . . . Post-feminist author **Camille Paglia** (*Sexual Personae*) writes in *Philadelphia Inquirer*: "I found [**Anita Hill**] to be sincere and intelligent. But I reject her claim of sexual harassment . . . women are being returned to their old status of delicate flowers who must be protected from . . . male lechers." . . . After seeing most American women shy away from radical feminist tactics used during Thomas hearings, columnist **Mona Charen** comments: "the idea that NOW [National Organization for Women] speaks for American women is laughable." Miss Charen adds that NOW's membership (200,000) is slightly more than a quarter of Concerned Women for America's (700,000). . . . Despite last-minute leak of FBI report and prime-time indictment of Thomas by Left, NBC's **Andrea Mitchell** reports: "[Thomas] had everything going for him. The Democrats did not ask him tough questions about the facts of her charge and . . . the Republicans did a great job of hammering her. . . . The Republicans know how to fight dirty." . . . Conservative Victory Committee and Citizens United have offered $5,000 reward to "the first person who can credibly identify those responsible for leaking" Anita Hill's testimony.

■ So far Democratic leader in race for President is perpetual "tease" and non-candidate, New York Gov. **Mario Cuomo**, who is front-runner "everywhere," say **Evans & Novak**, though if someone less well known were to beat him in New Hampshire, that candidate would become instant celebrity—the David who beat Goliath. Cuomo handlers have scheduled December 4 fundraiser and put out glossy brochure, *Mario Cuomo: Fighting for Our Future*. . . . Without Cuomo, **Gallup** polls have former California Gov. **Jerry Brown** leading pack with 21 per cent, Virginia Gov. **Douglas Wilder** with 10, Arkansas Gov. **Bill Clinton** with 6, and Nebraska Sen. **Bob Kerrey** with 6. From August to September, Brown's favorable rating rose from 29 to 36 because of anti-Washington, anti-status-quo message. Still, winner would have to face George Bush, carrying an October approval rating (which is falling, however) of 65 per cent among all voters and 40 per cent among blacks, four times the rating **Ronald Reagan** received among blacks at same time in his first term. . . . Columnist **David Broder** is impressed by GOP leaders in House and Senate—particularly, "key players in Reaganomics revolution" Sens. **Phil Gramm** (Tex.) and **Bob Kasten** (Wisc.), and Reps. **Newt Gingrich** (Ga.) and **Vin Weber** (Minn.)—whose ideas and leadership have been held down by Dems' legislative domination. "What I saw on Capitol Hill," says Broder, "suggests that Republicans are ready to govern—if given the chance."

■ **Harris**–*L'Express* poll shows popularity of French President **François Mitterrand** (42 per cent) and Prime Minister **Edith Cresson** (28 per cent) to have dropped. Mitterrand has lost six points while Mme. Cresson becomes least popular premier of France's Fifth Republic, which began in 1958. . . . *The Economist* reports that despite Socialist make-up, French government is turning over state-owned firms to private sector in order to acquire capital and cut debt. . . . *Profit* magazine—a journal dedicated to helping former Communist Eastern European nations and institutions move toward capitalist systems—has joined forces with Institute for Applied Economics to bring Western business and know-how to the East. For info, call **Tom Bates**, *Profit*, 208-683-3193. . . . **National Journalism Center** offers training in research and writing to would-be journalists in Washington, D.C. Deadline for applications is November 22 for six-week general and economic sessions beginning December 9. Contact **Stan Evans**, **Chris Warden**, or **Mal Kline** at NJC, 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; 202-544-1333. . . . Grassroots organization gaining popularity with anti-tax, anti-government sentiments, Citizens for a Sound Economy has chapters in New York, New Jersey, and Virginia; coming soon in Maryland and California. For info, call 202-488-8200.

■ Late-night comedian **David Letterman**'s predictions—2050 A.D.: operational space station; 500,000 A.D.: Earth engulfed by sun; 1,000,000 A.D.: Democrats win White House.



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"Which one of us is the opposite sex?"

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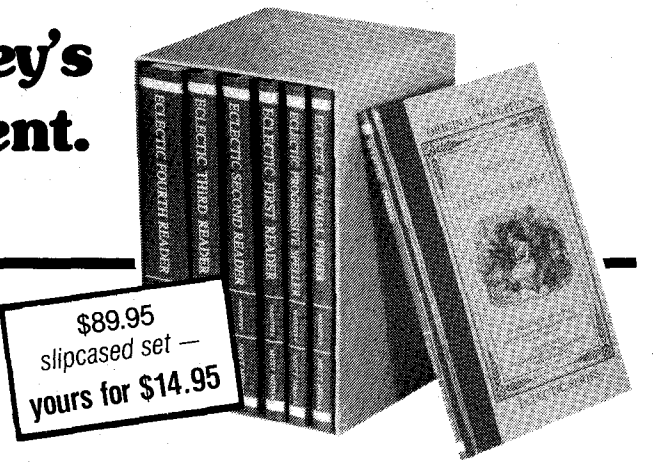

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THE WEEK

■ Teddy Kennedy at Harvard promised to lead the fight against, yes, sexual harassment. Does this mean he's turning state's evidence?

■ On the same day that George Bush bashed Congress as a "privileged class of rulers," his aides reached an agreement with the Democrats on a civil-rights bill. The incongruity goes a long way toward explaining conservative ambivalence toward the President. On the one hand, he is certainly right to see in Congress an elite that has exempted itself from most of the laws it inflicts on the rest of us. On the other hand, during his time in office he has only added to the long list of onerous regulations by endorsing a the-same-but-less approach to everything from the environment and education to crime, and now civil rights. Indeed, the gravest long-term damage of last year's disastrous summit package was erasing in the public mind the distinction between the two parties that Ronald Reagan had honed over his two Administrations. Until President Bush starts sharpening that difference on legislative issues it's not likely that people are going to see him—a Beltway careerist, after all—as someone outside that "privileged class" he has so eloquently identified.

■ Liberals and Washington Republicans raised cries of alarm when David Duke made it into the run-off of the Louisiana governor's race. Yet they are the two groups most responsible for his rise in the world: Washington Republicans, for having bungled and finally ceded the issue of quotas and affirmative action; liberals, for having put the policies in place. Duke's opposition to the whole quota structure is incomplete, since he does not make the argument that it hurts blacks in the long run (indeed, a Machiavellian Klan-symp should *support* quotas, for just that reason). Even if he opposed quotas—and crime, and taxes—intelligently, he would not deserve the support of decent people, because of his inadequately repented Nazi past. NATIONAL REVIEW, which has thwacked fellow-travelers and sentimental ex-Communists for 36 years, is well positioned to demand political hygiene on this point. Would that the rest of Duke's media critics had such good credentials.

■ Even assuming Mario Cuomo doesn't move to Washington, he won't have to run for governor of New York until three years from now. But since it would take that long to enumerate all the ways in which he has damaged the state, Evan Galbraith, former ambassador to France and chairman of NATIONAL REVIEW's board, has already formed a committee to explore a run for Cuomo's job. In his kick-off press conference, Galbraith slammed rent control, praised school choice and workfare, and called for a death penalty (regularly vetoed by Cuomo) and term limitation ("careerist legislators are an intractable problem, and we should privatize them"). But the centerpiece of his pitch was economic: Reaganite tax cuts, plus more-than-Reaganite spending cuts. "Czechoslovakia and Poland are doing it; maybe we can do it here." Of course, Czechoslovakia and Poland are doing it because Gorbachev was less rigid than Cuomo. The revolution in New York will have to start with a change at the top.

■ Speaking in Europe, Mr. Robert Stempel called on governments to jack up gasoline taxes in order to keep prices far above market levels, in order to reduce fuel consumption, in order to reduce air pollution: an odd point of view from the chairman of General Motors. Maybe GM is tired of building cars. It has reported large losses this quarter.

■ Wanda Baucus, wife of Montana's Democratic Senator Max Baucus, had a story to tell. A few years ago, it seems, she was the target of improper and highly unwelcome advances from two senators—one Democratic, one Republican. So when she heard Anita Hill's testimony, she phoned as many of her husband's colleagues as she could reach and told them all about it. "And," she marveled to the *Washington Post*, "they still voted for this man." Quite an

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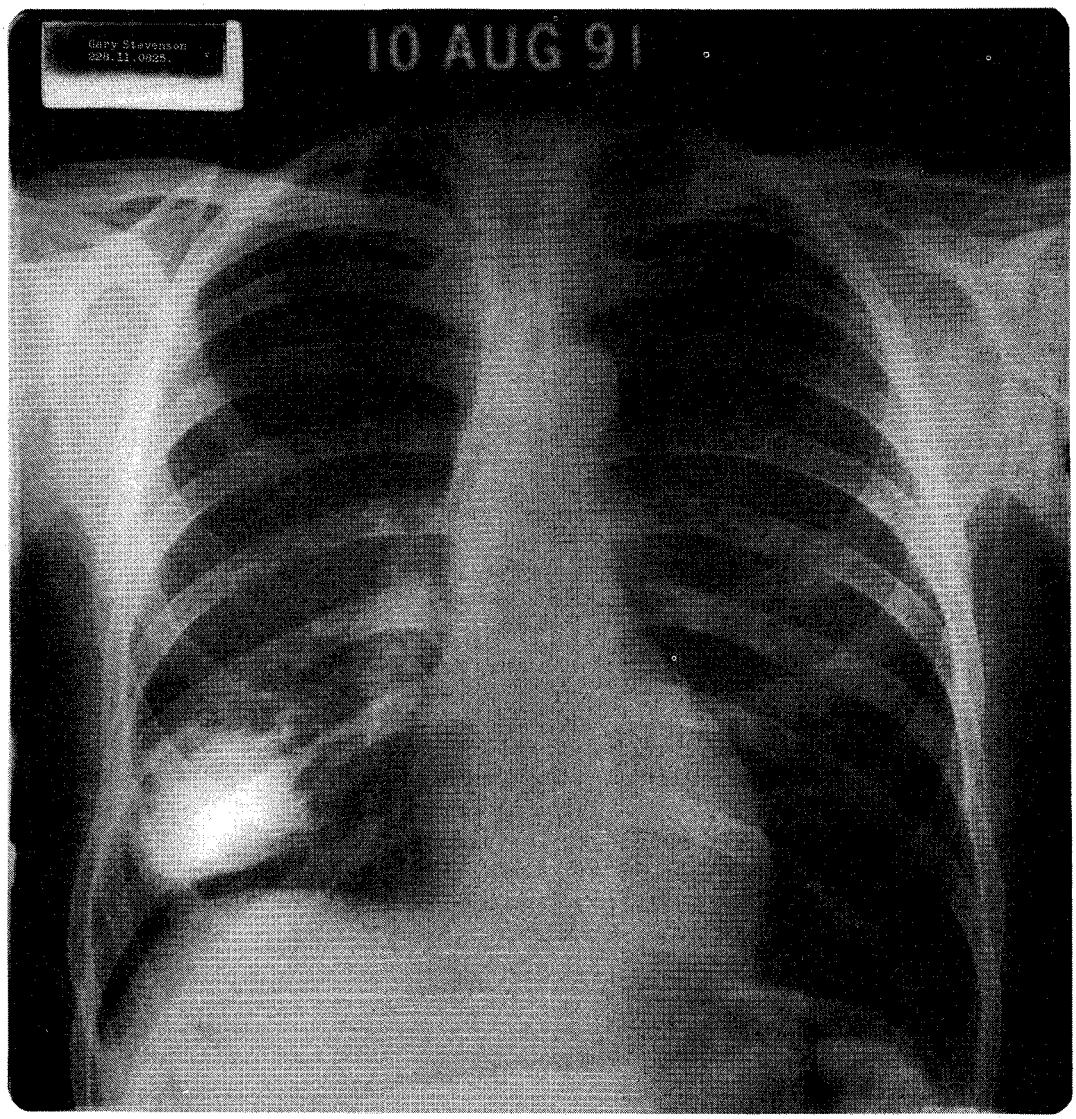

Because he works for a small company, the prognosis isn't good for his fellow workers either.

A serious illness in a small company can be tragic for other employees as well. When renewing its health insurance plan the company may be charged excessively high premiums and be forced to drop the plan.

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For more information about this subject and other ways that The Prudential is working for health care reform, write:

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enthymeme: two pols made passes at her, ergo Clarence Thomas was guilty. What the major premise was is anyone's guess.

■ The result of last Sunday's general election in Poland—the first free election since the victory over Communism—is a disaster for Poland and for the cause of market reform in Eastern Europe. With only half a point less than the 12 per cent of the vote won by the post-Solidarity Democratic Union, the former Communists are the second biggest party in parliament and free to obstruct the reform effort. With 19 parties in parliament, thanks to proportional representation, Poland is entering a period of political instability. Government coalitions will be short-lived, policies inconsistent, budget discipline non-existent. The worst thing that the West could now do for Poland is follow the *New York Times*'s advice and grant Poland large-scale financial aid. That would create the impression that the solution to Poland's problems lies in Washington, not in Warsaw. The contrary signal should be sent. The West should make it clear that if the new Polish government abandons reforms and financial responsibility, it can expect no sympathy. Only then might President Walesa succeed in banging heads together.

■ The PLO has fallen on hard times, according to an illuminating item in *The Jerusalem Report*. At the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council, the organization's parliament in exile, PLO Inc.'s financial officers reported a huge budget deficit (some $108 million), resulting from the cutoff of support from Gulf Arabs owing to Palestinian cheerleading for Saddam Hussein. A major belt-tightening has been ordered: medical benefits for personnel are being cut back; many worldwide offices will be closed; hiring will be frozen; PLO delegation to fancy international conferences will be smaller; receptions and cocktail parties will be canceled; PLO officials will no longer travel first class; etc. All this raises interesting questions, such as: Did the Palestinian refugees living in squalid camps know how high on the hog their champions were living? Will these high-flying freedom-fighters now join the rest of the oppressed back in coach, or will they only be bumped to business class? And how do these guys get through airport security in the first place? They should not complain. No one can take away from them the convenience that comes from knowing which flights are likely to be hijacked or blown up and being able to ask their travel agent to rearrange their schedules accordingly. It's hard to put a monetary value on such peace of mind. A valuable perk indeed.

■ When a Pennsylvania parental-consent law, which has just been upheld on appeal, arrives on their docket, the Supreme Court will once again read impassioned legal briefs and pleadings full of invocations of "conscience" and "choice." In a *Los Angeles Times* guest column, Dr. George Flesh told of his experiences in somewhat less abstract language: "Extracting a fetus, piece by piece, was bad for my sleep. . . . I stared at the sad face in the mirror and wondered how all those awards and diplomas had produced an angel of death. . . . Although I still felt sorry for the unmarried twenty-year-old, I felt increasing anger toward married couples who requested abortions because a law-firm partnership was imminent, . . . or even because summer travel tickets were paid for." What finally brought him to a decision, says Dr. Flesh, was the couple who came seeking an abortion, but were advised to wait a week because of a small complication. "The couple returned and told me they had changed their minds and wanted to 'keep the baby.' . . . Years later I played with little Jeffrey. He was happy and beautiful. I was horrified to think that only a technical obstacle had prevented me from terminating Jeffrey's potential life." Dr. Flesh no longer performs abortions; others still do.

■ Ronald H. Coase, an 81-year-old emeritus professor of law at the University of Chicago, has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics, an occasion for rejoicing. He now joins Milton Friedman and George Stigler as a Chicago Nobel Laureate. Coase debunked the notion that government intervention is required whenever Citizen A imposes unwanted costs on Citizen B. Market solutions, in which one party pays the other to cease, or accept, the offending activity, are invariably more efficient. Coase's work was the intellectual justification for the 1980s deregulation. For a while, ideas had consequences.

■ The tomahawk chop of Atlanta Braves fans is a . . . grievance. At least to the American Indian Movement (AIM), a professional grievance group. American culture today has introduced a variation on Descartes, *viz*, "I have a grievance, therefore I am." Jane

Nearer, My God, to Thee

I've peered at Alan Greenspan
  And caught a grin from Quayle;
The cabin boy says Brady
  Does not intend to bail,
But as the vessel shudders
  In fog like onion soup,
I, in my Mae West, wonder
  Who's up there on the poop.

W. H. VON DREELE

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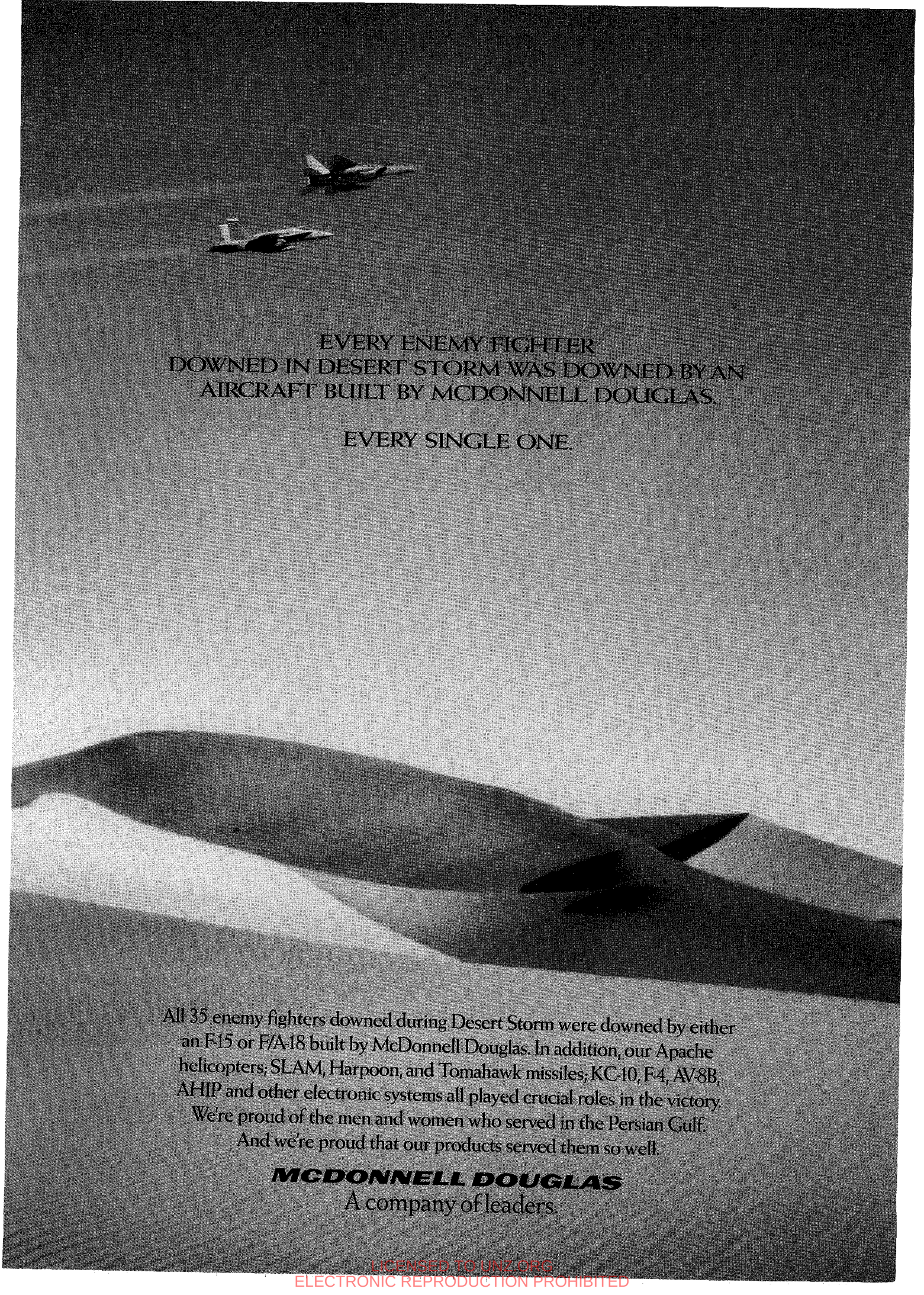

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Fonda, Ted Turner's buddy, is apologizing for the chop, but Jimmy Carter is defending it, his consciousness having been inadequately raised. But the Braves and the Redskins aren't buying. Don't expect them to change their names to the Atlanta Native Americans and the Washington Victims.

■ This week's Environmental Studies quote is by Senator Al Gore, who recently criticized President Bush's record as a green by saying, "A zebra cannot change its spots."

Gentlemen's Agreement

WHEN President Bush announced that he would sign a compromise civil-rights bill agreed upon with the Democrats and brokered by Senator John Danforth, he insisted that it was not a "quota bill." His Democratic allies insist that it never was. Who, if anyone, is telling the truth?

—The "disparate impact" test, a brainstorm of the runaway judiciary, is now embedded for the first time in legislation. No *intent* to discriminate against minorities or women need be shown; the rule is simply that the percentages of women and minorities in the workplace must conform to the percentages in the community (or to some related statistical formula laid down by EEOC bureaucrats).

—The act will place the burden of proof on the employer accused of "disparate impact," thus overturning eight centuries of jurisprudence. If he fails in this, he will then have to establish "legitimate hiring practices" to the satisfaction of the state.

—A plaintiff in a discrimination or sexual-harassment case can now sue not only for back pay (as per the 1964 Civil Rights Act), but also for compensatory and punitive damages of up to $300,000. This would apply not only to complaints at the time of hiring (or non-hiring) but also to complaints about on-the-job treatment, promotions, dismissals, etc.

—The right of victims of reverse discrimination to sue to reopen old cases is sharply limited by the new act. Racial discrimination imposed by the courts will not be actionable, and, thus, white males will be largely at the mercy of whatever settlements were arrived at *before* their terms of employment.

The effect of these and other provisions will be: to encourage women and racial minorities to sue for large damages; to make it easier to prove such cases by entrenching the concept of "disparate impact" in bipartisan legislation; to reduce the employer's ability to resist hiring quotas by placing the burden of proof upon him; and to prohibit legal remedies for intentional discrimination solely in those cases where it has been imposed by the courts, i.e., where it has resulted in quotas. President Bush is right to reject the claim that this represents a compromise; it is an abject surrender.

The Democrats, it goes without saying, have been profoundly hypocritical about the race issue since the days of Lyndon Johnson. They have defined civil rights in terms of increasingly crude and overt racial tests—affirmative action being the only form of institutionalized racism in America today—and then blamed the victims of racism for complaining. Race indeed forms the chief political fault line in American politics now, but it was the Democrats, not the Republicans, who made it so. The Democrats have adopted the strategy of offering patronage to racial minorities and other designated victims and have declared all opposition morally illegitimate. Now Mr. Bush has sanctioned their position.

In doing so, he has handed the quota issue over to David Duke, who may well run a Wallace-style third-party presidential campaign next year. He has also seemed to vindicate the Democrats' charges that he has been cynical about the quota issue all along. If he does face a Duke challenge, he will find himself in a bind. On race and sexual harassment, the Democrats will hold the moral high ground, which he will have ceded to them with this act. And the blue-collar support he has hitherto enjoyed on both cultural and economic issues as Ronald Reagan's successor, he will have thrown away by his effective endorsement of quotas and high taxes at the very moment when the recession is weakening the basis of that support. By then Desert Storm will be a distant memory, unless Saddam Hussein has re-emerged to demonstrate that Mr. Bush fumbled away a big victory there too.

George Bush is far from finished; he has the advantage that his opponents are the Democrats, who seem even more determined than he to misunderstand what the American people want. But he needs to learn that there is more to pragmatism than being unprincipled.

Tax Politics

AS IF TO demonstrate the point, the Democrats have suddenly discovered the virtues of lower taxes and smaller government. Last year "fairness" was the rage; this year it's economic (and political) survival. Senator Bentsen's tax package, built around deductible IRAs and a $300 tax credit for children under age 18, would put money in the pockets of 134 million taxpayers. That's great politics, but mediocre economics. Marginal tax rates, and thus incentives for the long term, will be unaffected by these proposals. Expanded IRAs will undoubtedly increase our savings rate, but the banks

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aren't lending—and business isn't borrowing—the paltry amount of savings available now. And once the $300 credit is spent and the IRA funded, economic incentives will return to the same abysmal level they are at today.

But the beauty of Bentsen's plan may lie in the marriage opportunity it presents for a long-spurned Republican proposal. The Gramm–Gingrich bill would cut the capital-gains-tax rate to 19.6 per cent from the current 28 per cent and, more importantly, apply this rate to real rather than inflationary long-term gains. Unlike IRAs or tax credits, a lower capital-gains tax would be an immediate economic stimulus. Real-estate values would rebound and entrepreneurs would crank up new ventures as soon as markets become convinced that a proposed cut would, at some not-too-distant point, become law. (The recent stock-market surge may be an early sign of this.)

If the Democratic Congress had its way, it would cut defense sharply to finance both higher domestic spending and Bentsenite tax cuts. Mr. Bush has the veto power to prevent that, but the last three years have shown that he lacks either the will or the power to push through a Republican growth package. What calculations, then, should determine his approach? Almost certainly, he can moderate but not halt serious defense cuts. Equally, he can convincingly argue that entitlement programs, if left unreformed, would absorb every cent of defense savings. So a politically expedient compromise might be to offer the Democrats the Bentsen tax plan, financed by cuts in *both* defense and entitlement programs, plus a capital-gains-tax cut, which would more than pay for itself. In short, we would meld Bentsen's middle-class populism with the good economic sense of Gramm–Gingrich.

It's hardly surprising that a bipartisan consensus has emerged in favor of a tax cut. In the year following the largest tax increase in American history, two million workers have lost their jobs, personal and business bankruptcies are at an all-time high, and after-tax family incomes are falling. Economic growth during the first three Bush years will very likely turn out to be slower, and average tax rates higher, than during any consecutive three years since 1945—except for the Carter inspired stagflation and recession of 1980 to 1982.

The Administration should be leading the fight for tax relief. It isn't. Messrs. Darman, Brady, and Sununu have apparently convinced George Bush that the credit crunch and an overly tight-fisted Alan Greenspan are behind the malaise. They cannot admit—either to themselves or to others—that the budget agreement they helped craft has been an economic and fiscal disaster. And the liberal media which helped the Democrats in Congress to push them into negotiating it have naturally averted their gaze from the disastrous consequences.

Both conservative economic theory and crude political calculations argue for a tax cut. But we have become accustomed to observing that when principle and interest both point the same way, Mr. Bush moves instinctively in the opposite direction.

Esprit de Korps

FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND and Helmut Kohl have startled their EC colleagues by another joint initiative to promote a common European security policy, calling upon the EC to develop a common foreign policy toward Washington and Moscow and also a joint military command. The Franco-German joint brigade, the token of the two countries' growing cooperation, is to be expanded into a corps, perhaps to become the nucleus some day of an all-European army.

Is this good for Europe? Is it good for the West? It all depends on how it's done—and the way the French and Germans have begun is not a good omen.

No serious adult can imagine that a rational defense strategy is possible for Europe without the American guarantee, as embodied in the North Atlantic Alliance. Bismarck is reputed to have observed that Russia is never as strong—or as weak—as it appears. Someday Russia will be on its feet again, with nuclear weapons; it retains a disproportionate concentration of power on the continent of Europe, to which there is not, and cannot be, any effective counterweight without the United States.

The French, to whom history has given a usually keen nose for the balance of power in Europe, have lost their bearings under the shock of German unification and the lingering influence of Socialist anti-American prejudices. (The Gaullists, ironically, are the most Atlanticist of the French these days.) Roland Dumas, Mitterrand's foreign minister, warned a Socialist Party conference in early September that "American might reigns without balancing weight"—as if, in this time of congressional stampede for a "peace dividend," American hegemony

Sexual Harassment

I know a gal who, when the hard-hats
  Make those sucking sounds
As she approaches excavations
  On her morning rounds,
Hums happily at all the fuss
Because she's pushing sixty-plus.

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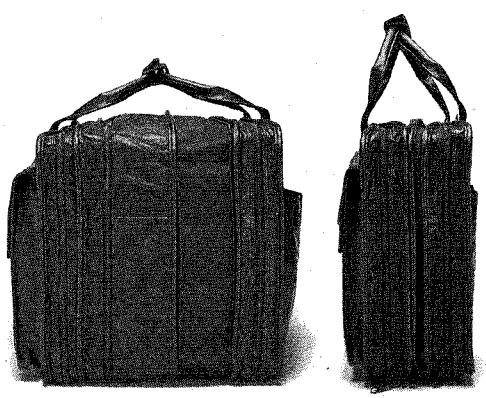

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were Europe's main strategic problem. The French, to be sure, also worry about German power and hope to embed the Germans more deeply in European institutions; this is understandable. But here too, they are missing the point. If Germany's economic power frightens them, they should be looking to organize countervailing influences, especially with the British and the Americans. Their attempt to cultivate their own special relationship with the Germans is feckless; it is not an equal political relationship, even with French nuclear weapons.

The EC institutions on which the French have focused their hopes are less and less likely to achieve the political cohesion necessary for a common defense policy. They face instead inevitable dilution from the EC's future enlargement. Even well-intentioned proposals to strengthen the "European pillar" within the Atlantic Alliance, like the recent Anglo-Italian plan to link a Western European Union force with NATO, risk creating institutions that will eventually become the nucleus of a non-American European defense system. The end result of such approaches could well be the creation of an independent European defense structure that would be ineffective against a revived Russia, but seemingly formidable enough to encourage the European Community to pursue trade and foreign policies inimical to U.S. interests.

French tactics have been against France's own interests, and against the free world's investment in the balance of power in Europe. Anti-Americanism is suicide for Europe. The Atlantic Alliance remains vital; there is no substitute for it; and since it ain't broke, why fix it?

Yankee, Go Home

AS NATIONAL REVIEW goes to press the Aquino and Bush Administrations will begin talks aimed at phasing out the U.S. military presence at Subic Bay Naval Base over a period of three years. This three-year withdrawal period is the compromise formula reached after the Philippine Senate voted in September to reject the treaty reached between Manila and Washington after 18 months of often-acrimonious negotiation. The upshot is that an American presence that has been in the Philippines since we followed Kipling's advice to take up the White Man's Burden will be ending.

Each side bears some blame for the ignominious defeat in the Philippine Senate. When U.S. negotiator Richard Armitage upped the terms after the devastation of Mt. Pinatubo, it was seen as akin to a landlord's taking advantage of a family put out of its home by a fire. Of course, unpleasantness was guaranteed from the outset when Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus—author of the play *Yankee Panky*, in which the American father figure is slain—opened negotiations by slapping the U.S. team with a formal eviction notice. President Corazon Aquino did not help matters by refusing to take a position on the bases until after the treaty, implying that the national patrimony was available for the right price.

The result is the loss of a strategic asset that, in General MacArthur's words, remains the key to unlock Asia. Set amid the sea lines of communication, Subic Bay Naval Base can be replicated elsewhere but at a much greater cost and not all in one place. Relocating to Guam or Singapore, for example, would double labor costs. The loss in convenience is even greater: Rear Admiral Thomas Mercer notes that Subic is "one-stop shopping," with fabulous ship-repair facilities; a highly skilled, educated, and English-speaking labor force; training facilities for all aspects of warfare; and more. During the Gulf War some 70 per cent of the naval operations were supported out of Subic. The Filipinos, for their part, lost a free defense from external aggression, not to mention the shared security benefits of keeping the U.S. Navy dominant in the Pacific.

The significance of Subic notwithstanding, and whatever mistakes in style may have been made, the Bush Administration was right to emphasize that it would not renegotiate the treaty and that we will leave if asked. The best thing we did in the region in the past decade was to boot New Zealand out of the alliance when it refused our nuclear-armed or -powered ships—an action that stiffened the spine of nearby countries such as Australia. When negotiating with one country, as important as it may be, the U.S. has to keep in mind that others are watching. The rejection of the bases treaty by the Philippine Senate represents the first post–Gulf War difficulty for the Pax Americana. Precisely because the Philippines has been so convenient it now affords an excellent opportunity to let the world know that when we take a position, we stick with it.

Ave atque Vale

WHEN Bob Bleiberg announced his retirement in October, he ended 45 years of association with *Barron's* and (as everyone said) an era. During the dark days of the 1950s, back when *NR* got its start, Bleiberg was one of the very few voices in establishment journalism editorializing against the overwhelming liberal consensus. His contribution was particularly striking: he was a friend of Ayn Rand, and even after his inevitable expulsion from her puristic circle, he continued to employ her radical libertarian approach on the subject it fits best, economics. Thus even now, when public

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FROM THE YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

VANDERBILT SCRANTON HILL ROCKEFELLER

THE MYTH OF THE ? ROBBER BARONS

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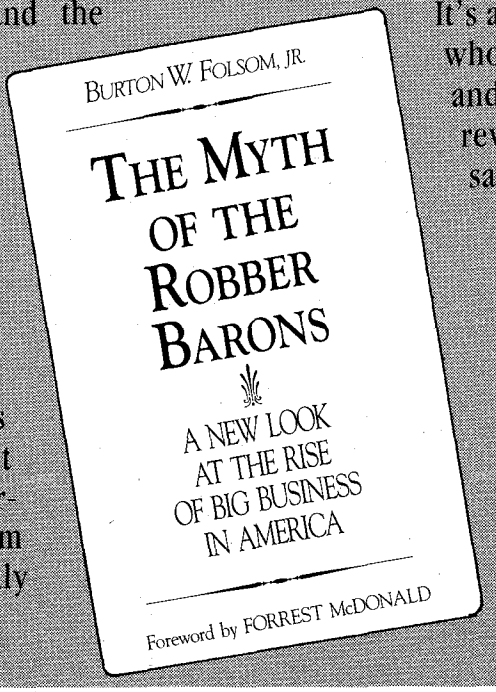
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debate has progressed to the point where free-market ideas are generally acknowledged, if not actually applied, Bleiberg's critique of the Securities and Exchange Commission and its holy war against "insider trading" remains quite unanswered.

Bleiberg's more recent career has, by contrast, been disappointing. A man of volcanic personality, he did not socialize with his fellow libertarians and made curiously little effort to recruit them to *Barron's*. In 1981, he lost the editorship to the brilliant but politically liberal Alan Abelson. Bleiberg retained his editorial column, but he had been marginalized.

Like its sister paper the *Wall Street Journal*, *Barron's* in recent years has presented the paradox of an editorial page ideologically at odds with the news side. Conservatives will be concerned that Dow Jones' management has resolved this contradiction by appointing as *Barron's* editorial-page editor an orthodox Washington liberal, Thomas Donlan. Bob Bleiberg left a tradition but, unhappily, no progeny.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: *NR* staff and readers
From: WFB

In the past 36 years, several hundred young men and women have come to NATIONAL REVIEW, done a stint here, left their fingerprints, and moved on as opportunity or necessity beckoned. I think of many, but focus for the moment on George Will, plucked from us by the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*; Dan Oliver, selected by President Reagan to be Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission; John Leonard, swished off by Berkeley to be radicalized. And then there are those sometime directors of NR Inc. who are now judges or ambassadors or canonized saints.

Now we need to add Wick Allison to the list. It is not my privilege to dwell on private circumstances, but I am at liberty to remind you all that he is the father of four children under the age of six, and to stress that his departure for greener material pastures is an act of loyalty to his family, even as we have been so fruitfully aware of his loyalty to NATIONAL REVIEW.

He came to us with a huge breath of Texas liveliness and spirit. He came as an experienced publisher, determined to ignore settled conventions about what opinion magazines can and can't do. He fixed large goals for himself and his colleagues and set about to reach them. Much of what he did and what he helped to get done is palpable, some is not. Most visible are a circulation growth of 45 per cent, to more than 150,000, the largest in our history. Our advertising revenue rose by 27 per cent, in the teeth of the industry's most severe postwar recession. Get this: Of the forty weekly and fortnightly magazines published in the U.S., *NR* is the only one to show a growth in page sales in 1991.

Wick installed our new computer system to cut costs and improve the speed of delivery. He put together the book division that got out our *College Guide* and is working on other publications. He invented and coaxed into existence our experimental computer network, the NR Town Hall. He founded the National Review Institute, which only a month ago held a hugely successful inaugural conference outside London, the Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher in the chair. This is only a whiff of W. Allison's activity at *NR*. If I were a weather station, I would send out signals warning the world at large that Typhoon Wick is loose again.

Wick has always been eager to insist that such accomplishments as I list are not his alone to take credit for: that the credit extends elsewhere, most particularly to Ed Capano. I have asked Ed to assume the burdens of publisher. We proceed with gratitude that Wick Allison could be with us for three years and wish him Godspeed in his new endeavors. Whoever he next associates with will be fortunate, as we have been.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your account of Lowell Weicker's fatuity about salvaging artifacts from the *Titanic* brought about the following:

TITANIC

How very sad.
I wish she had
Not let that iceberg strike her.
And now, alas,
It seems she has
Run into Lowell Weicker.

Sincerely yours,
Vivian VanBrundt
Glenview, Ill.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I recently wrote a column for my school's student paper in which I referred to Senator Kennedy as an idiot, called him, Senator Biden, and Congresswoman Schroeder "fruit-loops," and implied that former Justices Marshall and Brennan are senile. Did I go too far?

Sincerely,
Michael Wilder
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Va.

Dear Mr. Wilder: Oh no! You are engaged in stretching the horizons of learning, and all the world will be grateful to you. Cordially, **—WFB**

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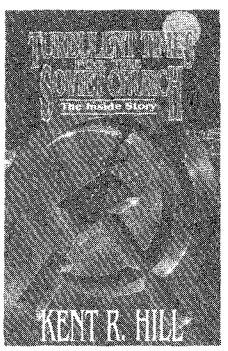
What's Really Happening in the Soviet Union Today?

BOOK INFORMATION

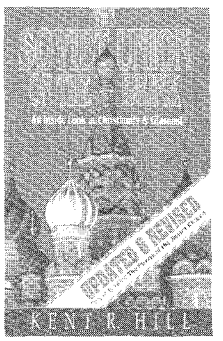
Turbulent Times for the Soviet Church:
The Inside Story

by Kent R. Hill, Multnomah Press, 184 pages, $8.99, paperback.



The Soviet Union on the Brink:
An Inside Look at Christianity and Glasnost

by Kent R. Hill, Multnomah Press, 417 pages, $19.99, hardback.



Many analysts of Soviet society, both inside and outside the USSR, observe that Marxist communism has had a devastating impact on societal morals. Indeed, the heart of the Soviet Union's problems is spiritual, not political or economic. This makes the mission of the church all the more urgent, for a vibrant faith can provide the values, the courage, the hope, the patience, and the meaning necessary to build a new society based on truth rather than falsehood.

The outcome in the struggle . . . is very much in doubt.

The profound moral crisis, when combined with the increasingly dangerous economic and political situation, spawns gloomy prognostications about the future. And yet the edge of despair can also be the threshold of hope. At least this is always the case wherever the Gospel is present, and there is probably no mission field in the world as open as that of the Soviet Union and other countries where the emptiness of atheist communism is present for all to see.

There is complete uncertainty as to which way the Soviet Union will go. The outcome in the struggle between the progressive democratic forces and those who resist dismantling the centralized organs of repressive power is very much in doubt. Further developments toward democracy are likely, but also real is the likelihood of future challenges to democratic progress. Now more than ever, Christians need to move quickly and with commitment to respond to the most open mission field in the world today.

About the Author:

Dr. Kent R. Hill, a Russian affairs scholar and author, is Executive Director of the Institute on Religion and Democracy, based in Washington, D.C.

While doing graduate research at the University of Moscow in 1978, he became actively involved in the "Siberian Seven" emigration case that captured headlines worldwide for the next five years. Dr. Hill testified before the U.S. Senate and House Committees and participated in discussion with high-level U.S. and Soviet officials in Moscow, Madrid, and Washington about the case.

Dr. Hill has published articles and reviews in the *New Oxford Review*, *Fides et Historia*, *The Review of Metaphysics*, *Christianity Today*, *The National Catholic Register*, and *Slavic Review*.

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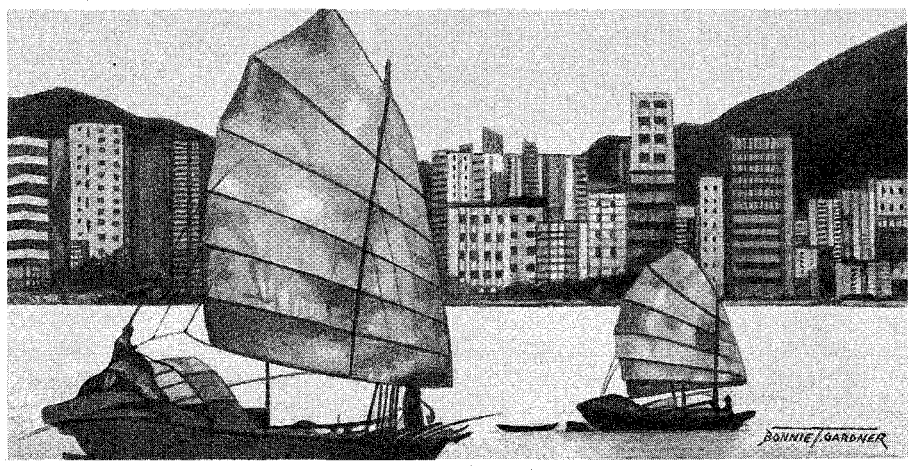
ON THE SCENE

Peace in the ROC

WILLIAM McGURN



Bonnie Gardner

TAIPEI

FOR A while it looked as though it would rain on Taiwan's parade. Literally. But the gods were kind: the anticipated typhoon veered off course at the last minute, even the sun cropped out of the L.A.-style smog to take a peek. And so President Lee Teng-hui and the twenty million inhabitants of this little island celebrated the eightieth anniversary of Double Ten: the October 10, 1911, uprising that overthrew the hated Manchu dynasty and ushered in Sun Yat-sen's Republic of China (ROC).

In Chinese lore anything associated with the number eight is especially fortuitous, and without doubt the eightieth anniversary of the ROC ought to be an occasion. Under Chiang Kai-shek the country launched its economic miracle, but real political reform had to wait until the rule of his illegitimate son, Chiang Ching-kuo. Under President Lee, the first native Taiwanese ruler of the ROC, reform has been accelerated beyond anyone's wildest expectations: censorship has been relaxed, tariffs slashed to within the average for developing nations, martial law lifted, exchange controls eased, and free elections scheduled for both the National Assembly (this December) and the Legislative Yuan (next December)—which means the forced retirement of aging mainland Kuomintang (KMT) representatives who have held their seats unchallenged since they fled here in 1949. In short, the ROC is on the verge of a revolution that many have hitherto thought impossible: the first real Chinese democracy.

The inclusion of a large military parade in this year's festivities is designed to reflect the justifiable pride in the ROC's evolution. Along with other visiting foreign devils in the reviewing stand, I am treated to a marvelous exhibition of the island's defense forces and a riot of Chinese golds and reds: smartly dressed cadets; bare-chested Taiwanese Marines; tanks, missile launchers, and amphibious landing vehicles; and—my favorite—the blue-jacketed, white-skirted women of the Political Warfare Army, a sort of KMT political-correctness cadre complete with regulation white high heels and pocketbooks.

Laugh if you will, but you can't dismiss them. The 15th largest trading entity in the world, number one in foreign reserves, and 26th in GNP, modern Taiwan is not the equal of most nations, it is the envy of them. With the collapse of the evil empire and the new opportunities for developing peoples, Taiwan's political isolation imposes heavy social, economic, and international costs, not just on it but on the rest of us as well. Its application to the GATT, endorsed this summer by the Bush Administration, represents Taiwan's effort to carve out a role for itself commensurate with its economic clout. For our part, how we respond vis-à-vis this remarkable island may spell the difference between a world broken into protectionist supra-blocs and a liberalized trading order the likes of which we have not seen since the *Pax Britannica*.

"Taiwan can make important contributions to regional development and regional security," says the government's spokesman, Jason Hu. "We want to be part of the new world order." In this neck of the woods this is not just a catch phrase. Like virtually every other nation in East Asia, Taiwan right now depends on exporting to the U.S. and importing from Japan. In a liberalized trading order with plenty of alternatives, even potential alternatives, this wouldn't matter all that much. But with Western Europeans hellbent on a Fortress Europe and the U.S. busily moving toward a free-trade grouping of Canada and Latin America, countries like Taiwan are nervous. Any regional bloc within Asia would be dominated by Japan, and the fear is that without open access to other markets Taiwan and its neighbors could well find themselves sucked in to a new Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere minus the occupation troops.

"It's a concern," concedes Fredrick Chien, Minister for Foreign Affairs, when pressed about Asian fears of Japanese dominance. That concern is behind the government's commitment to internationalizing the economy, well realizing that as things now stand Taiwan depends on Japan for more than 80 per cent of its high-tech machinery, heavy equipment, and key components. In a world where its access to American and European markets was restricted, Taipei might find itself a reluctant vassal of Tokyo.

GATT membership would help hedge against such a development. Although the ROC has muddled through

Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington Bureau Chief.*

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without membership thus far, the exclusion from multilateral vehicles such as GATT means Taiwan must substitute bilateral relations with everyone, a task all the more formidable given its lack of diplomatic relations with all but 29 nations. Exclusion from GATT means that when another country takes an unfair action against Taiwan it has no court of appeal. This would be a lifeline to a tiny nation dependent on trade. Consequently, while the world's political junkies fret about possible UN membership for Taiwan the KMT recognizes the far greater significance of GATT.

"They are absolutely dead set on this path of liberalization," says James O'Hearn, president of the local American Chamber of Commerce here. "They still have a ways to go in some areas, but I give them full marks for their reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers. GATT means they would have to play by the rules, and that itself is in the interest of the American business community." Indeed, the chamber has sent a letter to George Bush urging him to signal U.S. interest in and support for Taiwan by sending some high-level delegations.

To make matters easier for everyone Taiwan has done two things to boost its chances for admission next year. First, it has applied as a developed as opposed to undeveloped country, which means adhering to a more stringent set of trade standards. Second, it dropped its long insistence on being recognized always as the Republic of China and instead applied to GATT as "the customs territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu."

Still, Peking has not been pleased, not least because its own application to GATT (as an undeveloped nation) languishes in limbo from Tiananmen Square. It also worries that Taiwan's economic success may be fueling the Taiwanese independence movement, anathema to the KMT and Communists alike (and supported by only 10 to 15 per cent of the islands population, according to the polls). On the eve of Double Ten the mainland's president, Yang Shang-kun, hinted at the consequences of a declaration of Taiwanese independence. "Those who play with fire will be burned to ashes."

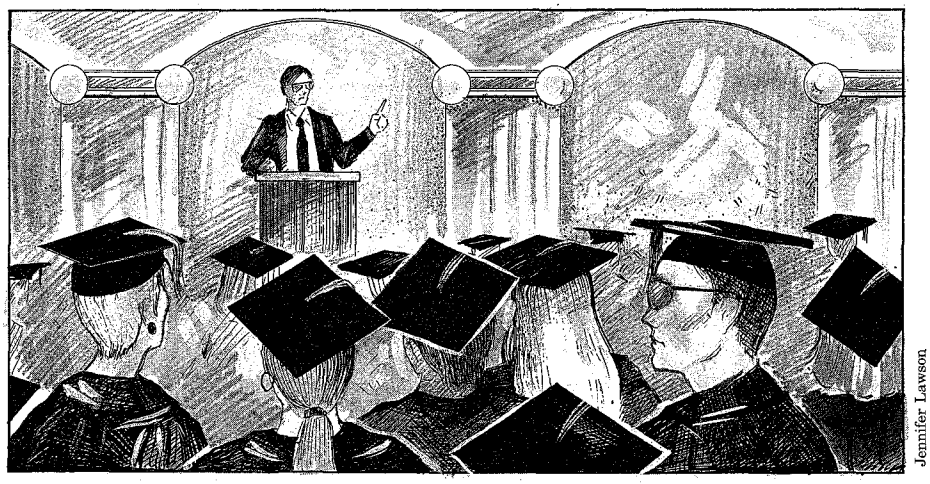
Here in Taiwan, while it is technically seditious to advocate independence (and some of the better-known adherents have been clapped in the pokey), the press is full of commentary about whether this should be allowed. All calls for Taiwanese independence—now enshrined in the opposition Democratic Progressive Party platform, despite KMT warnings—arouse Peking's ire, eliminate any chance for the opposition to develop into a real second party, and remind the residents of this island of the precariousness of their situation. "Whatever we do," says Julie Yeh, a China Airlines stewardess, "we always have to worry what China thinks."

GATT membership and the concomitant re-integration into the world community would go a long way toward shoring up long-term confidence here as well as addressing a simple reality. Whatever reasons for keeping out Taiwan before, it is today *more* qualified than most of the other 102 members.

Our decision holds enormous implications for our future as well. Instead of dealing with Japan and other protectionists with retaliation that only closes the market further, the aim ought to be to raise the costs of opting out of a free-trade arrangement by surrounding them with free-trade arrangements that cut across regional lines. Ditto with Europe. A United States that complemented its North American Free Trade Arrangement in the Western Hemisphere with a bilateral agreement with Taiwan and one with Eastern Europe would contribute far more to discourage Japanese discrimination against semiconductor chips and Western European restrictions on agriculture than any Super 301 action. In short, the President may or may not get his liberal new world order with Taiwan. But, as AmCham's James O'Hearn puts it, "You won't get it without them." □

A Boston Massacre

MARK CUNNINGHAM



Jennifer Lawson

BOSTON

LAST May, in a graduation speech, Joachim Maître, then the dean of Boston University's prestigious College of Communication (COM) quoted a dozen-plus paragraphs from a speech given at Hillsdale College by movie critic Michael Medved, reprinted in Hillsdale's newsletter, *Imprimis*. Maître did not once mention his source. Neither did he exactly conceal it: his switch from handwritten notes to a photocopied enlargement of a professionally printed piece was obvious enough to onlookers. Maître would later explain the lapse as just that: an oversight in a not particularly important speech on a hectic day in a hectic month. But he would not get a chance to make that admission for some time. Whoever noticed his lapse did not raise the matter with him, but instead went to the press, in the person of Anthony Flint, a reporter on the higher-education beat at the *Boston Globe*.

Flint's July 2 story was headlined "BU DEAN USED THE WORDS OF ANOTHER SOURCE NOT GIVEN DURING SPEECH." BU officials declined to comment; Flint hadn't rung for comment until that afternoon. Their response and those of Maître's colleagues formed the *following* day's story. In all the *Globe* ran 12

Mr. Cunningham is NR*'s Articles Editor.*

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stories on Maître over the next 12 days, mostly written or co-written by Flint. Six of them were page one, not something you get a lot of on the higher-education beat.

As is the way with newspapers, most stories were rewrites of previous reporting, plus the latest "developments"—Maître's apology and explanation to Medved, anonymous complaints about that explanation from COM faculty, etc. Thus a story on the reaction at BU also dredged up 1984 "angry protests" (faculty backbiting) against the Afghan Media Project, wherein BU trained *mujahedin* to report on their struggle (without Maître's side of the story, of course).

AS IS the way with scandals, the *Globe* got more savage as time went on, the staff convinced perhaps by its own coverage, perhaps by the sheer thrill of the wild hunt. On day six, it reprinted Medved's speech, re-titled "THE WORDS JOACHIM MAÎTRE NEVER WROTE." Day eight the paper worried that we hadn't gotten the point: "MAÎTRE MATTER COULD HURT BU, SOME SAY." This page-one story is a remarkable collection of anonymous attacks on Maître and his explanation of his actions, leavened with properly attributed quotes to the point that BU President John Silber would have to do something, as well as Silber's statement that he refused to rush to justice. It would later come out that Silber had refused Maître's resignation—"I was not prepared to accept it until he had returned to Boston and the situation could be examined with the appropriate care and under the safeguards of due process." On day ten Flint told us what his anonymous sources thought of due process: Silber was "laying the groundwork to keep Joachim Maître as dean . . . despite Maître's unattributed use of a film critic's article." That helped spark a demonstration by "about two dozen current and former students," on which Flint duly reported.

The truly astonishing piece in that day's *Globe*, however, is a profile of Maître in the "Living" section, headlined "SEPARATING MYTH FROM MAÎTRE/BU'S CONTROVERSIAL DEAN HAS MORE ENEMIES THAN FRIENDS." After *pro-forma* quotes from Maître defenders, "Living" staffer Charles E. Claffey damns his achievements with faint praise, and passes on more gossip and backbiting from unnamed sources. He terms Maître variously "a protean character from a Robert Ludlum novel," "quirky," "dictatorial," and "almost Zelig-like." Named sources include an old enemy from McGill who informed the BU student paper that "knowing Maître, I know how the Nazis came to power—[no, not plagiarism, but] by taking a few of such manipulative, ambitious cynics and letting them use civil powers to extrapolate their terrorizing powers." On that note, a man fired by Maître at BU explains the Silber–Maître relationship: "they're both Germanophiles." Worse, really: Maître is actually *German*. Still, the basic thrust is clear: *Schweinhunde*.

The day *that* piece ran, BU announced Dean Maître's resignation. (He remains a tenured faculty member.) The situation had seriously embarrassed Silber. In his twenty years as president, he has bootstrapped BU to nearly the first academic rank precisely by stressing traditional academic excellence, both as a buzzword in fundraising and as a goal for students and faculty. That dedication is the reason many people think Silber a conservative, though he truthfully calls himself a Truman Democrat: the academic Left hates him with a passion and has fought him every step of the way. It is also the reason he brought Maître to BU in 1983, supported him in his own battles, and made him COM dean in 1987. The memory of previous unfounded and/or absurd leftist charges against Maître presumably underlay Silber's initial refusal of Maître's resignation.

Moreover, Maître, given a chance to make his case, produced considerable evidence of honest intent. He had handed at least two copies of *Imprimis* to colleagues, and piled more outside his office, having asked Hillsdale for extra copies. The videotape that the *Globe* considers a smoking gun shows him making no attempt to conceal his photocopied text, though several faculty members were seated just over his shoulder. He later authorized distribution of the tape, even though it was the only record of his "crime." These are not the actions of a man trying to cover up plagiarism.

It is apparently just Maître's bad luck that copies of the tape went on sale while he was in Malaysia and thus unavailable for comment. This was great luck for Flint, since a simple admission of error—"I didn't cite Medved? Are you sure? My God, what was I thinking?"—would have taken most of the steam out of the "scandal." As it was, Flint went to press with a scoop consisting largely of extensive and embarrassing proof of something that Maître has never denied.

Certainly, there is no good reason to call Maître a plagiarist; Flint never has. Silber, convinced of Maître's essential innocence, decided to end the matter with his resignation as dean, leaving him tenured positions on the COM and international-affairs faculties. But he can hardly rest easy: the faculty has voted to conduct its own inquiry. His reputation still suffers, and he cannot avoid feeling a bit like Clarence Thomas.

If you search the computer database Nexus for *Globe* stories on plagiarism, you will get more on Joachim Maître than on Martin Luther King Jr., who, BU professor Chris Manion points out, undeniably plagiarized his BU doctoral thesis. I found 12,100 words on Maître's troubles up to his resignation, another 5,300 since, as against 7,200 on King's plagiarism, both through October 1.

WHY THEN the fixation on and exaggeration of Maître's lapse? The answer is in the *Globe*'s first editorial on the affair, which actually attacks *Medved*, for criticizing the more debased and debasing elements of our culture as exemplified by *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, and Her Lover*:

> The purloined paragraphs recited by Joachim Maître . . . betray something more diffuse than dishonesty, less corrigible than self-doubt. Bad taste was the trait . . . Maître's stolen text was a reactionary ragout of paranoia, false history, and internal contradictions. The lip-synching dean told tomorrow's communicators that Hollywood once made movies to instill the values of morality, family, and religion. Was he thinking of *Birth of a Nation*, of *Duck Soup*, of *Citizen Kane*? . . . The art commended in Maître's plagiarized text is uplifting propaganda akin to the *kitsch* favored by the commissars of Kultur who once ruled his native East Germany.

Clearly, Joachim Maître's crime was not stealing Medved's words, but spreading incorrect thought. Boston still knows how to treat heretics. □

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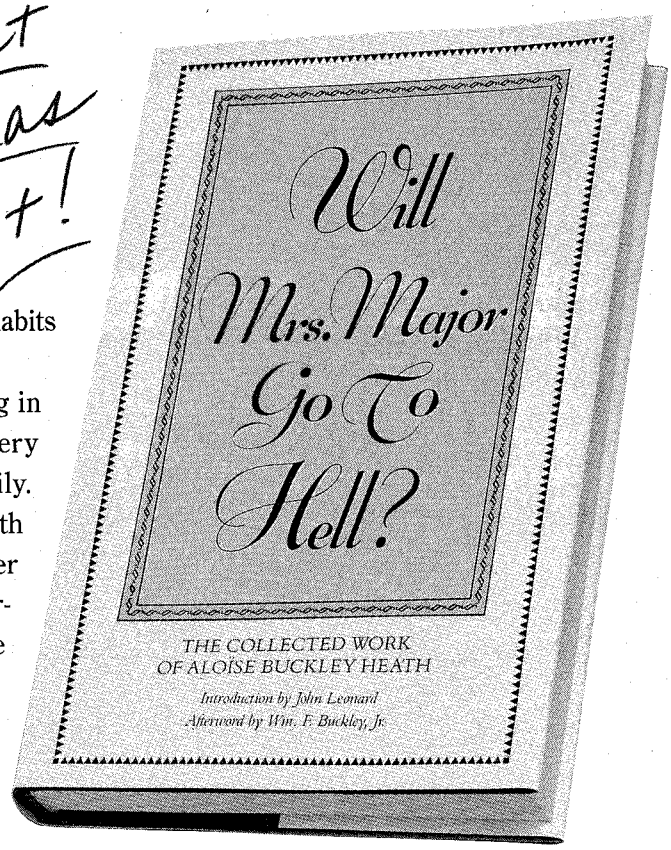
Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
THE COLLECTED WORK OF ALOÏSE BUCKLEY HEATH
Introduction by John Leonard
Afterword by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Here is what the "Book-of-the-Month Club News" said about **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** when it was first published:

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Don't miss her wonderfully entertaining views on soap operas or her recollections as an inadvertent fund-raiser (successful and highly unorthodox) for Smith College. Her Christmas stories are authentic classics, especially the Heaths' version of a Trapp Family Christmas.

And don't miss her "Baby in the Bathroom," "A Letter for Maureen" or "Politics and Mortal Sin." **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** captures perfectly Mrs. Heath's own vibrant spirit ... the book is an absolute classic of tenderness and humanity.

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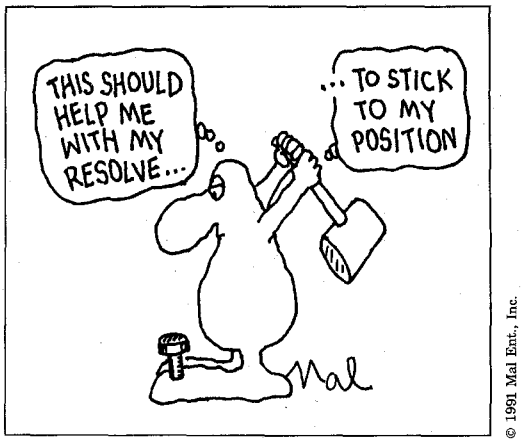

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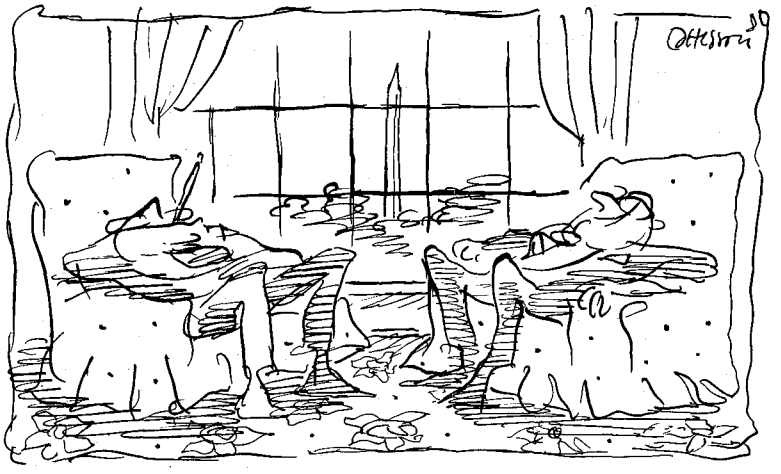
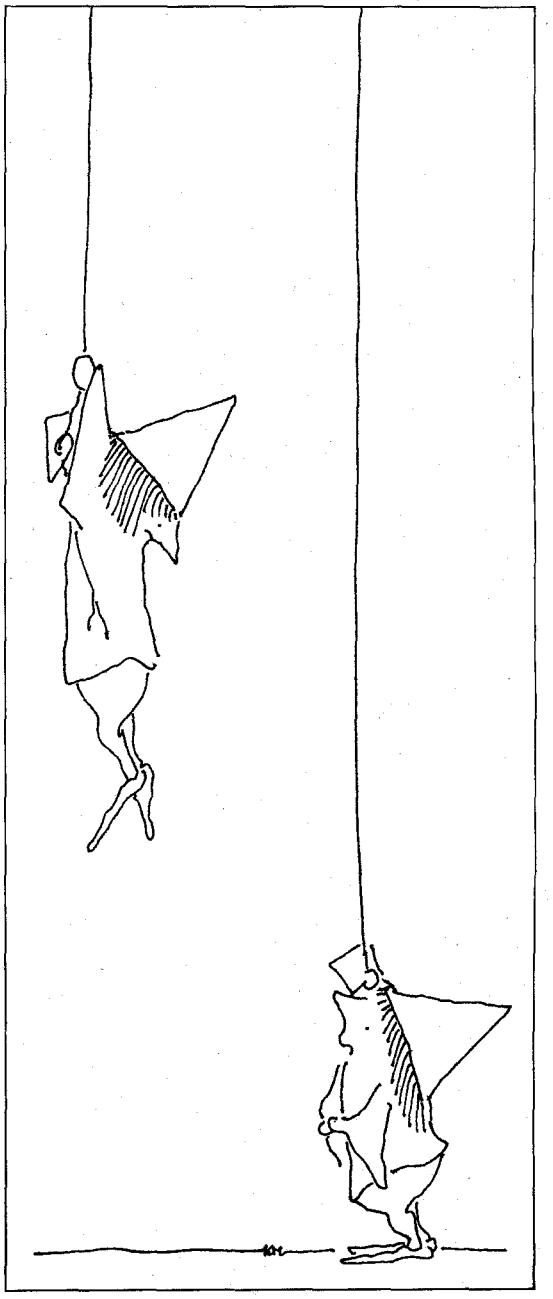


— WRITTEN ANY GOOD CHECKS LATELY?

Hot 'n' Cold

A solar researcher named Hector,
When weary of foil and reflector,
    Repaired to the beach
    To scrutinize each
Bikini-clad solar collector.

GLORIA MAXSON



"I didn't realize I'd grabbed the end of your rope."

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AFTER ALL THE SCANDALS IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE'S CLARENCE THOMAS CIRCUS, DO YOU FAVOR LIMITING THE TERMS WE GIVE CONGRESSMEN?...
NAH.... GIVE 'EM LIFE WITHOUT PAROLE!
10/16/91 THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER• COPLEY NEWS SERVICE
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Domestic Science

FEMINISM AGAINST SCIENCE

'Feminist science' began with a willful misreading of Margaret Mead and went on from there. Besides feminist anthropology, we now have feminist physics and feminist astronomy. Watch out for feminist molecular theory.

STEVEN GOLDBERG

IN 1935, when Margaret Mead published her *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, the prevailing view was that the basic differences between masculine and feminine behavior was owing to physiological differences. In attempting to correct a view that was nearly as exaggerated as the absurdly environmental explanation of sex differences that infuses the social sciences today, Miss Mead exaggerated the degree to which one of the societies she studied (the Tchambuli) associated what we would call the masculine with women and the feminine with men.

Few social scientists bought this view. For example, Jesse Bernard, who would have very much liked to be able to accept Miss Mead's conclusions, pointed out that, if the reader ignored the adjectives, the Tchambuli did not seem very different from other societies. "Effete" headhunters and "comradely" women feeding their children are still male headhunters and women feeding their children, and it is only the adjectives provided by Margaret Mead that even begin to suggest otherwise.

In response to such criticism, Miss Mead wrote a famous letter to *The American Anthropologist* in which she pointed out that

> Nowhere do I suggest that I have found any material which disproves the existence of sex differences. . . . This study was not concerned with whether there are or are not actual and universal differences between the sexes, either quantitative or qualitative.

Over the course of fifty years Miss Mead repeated her denial a hundred times, in response to one or another claim that she had found a society that reversed sex roles; in a review of my *The Inevitability of Patriarchy*, she wrote:

> It is true, as Professor Goldberg points out, that all the claims so glibly made about societies ruled by women are nonsense. We have no reason to believe that they ever existed. . . . Men have always been the leaders in public affairs and the final authorities at home.

Finally, eight years ago I published—in the American Sociological Association's journal of book reviews, perhaps the most-read journal in sociology—a letter making all of the above points.

Now, one would think that all this would be sufficient to preclude even the most ardent environmentalist's invoking Margaret Mead's study as evidence of sex-role reversibility. And yet, a couple of years ago I went to Barnes and Noble and located 38 introductory sociology books published in the few preceding years. Of these 38, 36 began their sex-roles chapters with a discussion of Miss Mead's work on the Tchambuli and how it demonstrates the environmental nature of male and female behavior.

It is not clear how many of these 36 knowingly misrepresented the facts and how many were incompetent as much as dishonest (uninformed cribbing from other textbooks is near-standard procedure in introductory-textbook writing). But it is clear why the textbooks misrepresent the evidence. They, like the discipline whose work they represent, have an ideological commitment to denying that masculine and feminine behaviors and emotions are rooted in male and female physiologies and that all social systems conform to the limits imposed by this reality.

My point here is merely that no case can be made for Miss Mead's having even *claimed* to have demonstrated that the Tchambuli refute that explanation. Yet 36 of 38 introductory sociology textbooks state it as truth.

Ideology for Truth

ONE MIGHT think that this sort of substitution of ideology for truth, while rampant in the social sciences, could not possibly threaten the physical sciences. One would, as Margarita Levin demonstrates so stunningly in a recent *American Scholar*, be wrong.

Mrs. Levin gives examples of accepted scientific findings whose putative male biases are seen by feminists as requiring "reconceptualization":

Mr. Goldberg, author of The Inevitability of Patriarchy *and numerous scientific and academic articles, is chairman of the sociology department at City College in New York.*

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["Feminist scientists"] see male dominance at work in, for instance, the "master molecule" theory of DNA functioning; in the notion of forces "acting on" objects; in the description of evolution as the result of a "struggle" to survive; in the view that scarcity of resources results in "competition" between animals—in short in any theory positing what they deem destructive, violent, uni-directional, or hierarchical. . . . The idea of dominance is directly linked to the notion of scientific objectivity, which . . . is understood as "distancing oneself" from nature.

Let us ignore the fact that, as Mrs. Levin points out, there is an equal number of scientific models that can be viewed as feminine: symbiosis, feedback, catalysis, mutual attraction, and the like. Much more destructive to the feminist objection is the fact that these, like all successful scientific conceptions, are held because they accurately explain nature; they demonstrate their correctness by making correct predictions. In other words, *they work*.

Because it is their success that validates accepted scientific explanations, it would not matter even if it were true that (as one feminist claims) our acceptance of the concept of inertial motion is rooted in capitalism's need for the movement of money, or if it were true (as another claims) that the replacement of a Ptolemaic system by a Copernican system was a victory of the masculine over the feminine (because the Ptolemaic earth-centered system is "feminine"). Mrs. Levin asks the question that in one sentence trumps all the volumes of the feminist critics: "Do they think we have a *choice*?"

We don't, of course. We believe in inertial motion because we find that, *ceteris paribus*, objects in space keep moving along at an unchanging speed and that inertial motion is our best explanation of why. We believe that the earth goes around the sun not because this is the macho way of seeing things, but because the earth *does* (speaking a bit loosely) go around the sun.

Moreover, motives for and functions of a claim are irrelevant to the truthfulness of the claim. Thus, the failure of "feminist science" (and "feminist models") is not that it serves psychological, political, and social impulses and purposes. The failure of "feminist science" is that it does *nothing more* than this; *it does not explain anything*. If it did, or if it demonstrated a logical flaw or failure of prediction in models invoking inertial motion or heliocentrism or anything else—if it were capable of doing *anything* that cast doubt on *any* scientific conclusion—*then* it would be worth taking seriously. Failing utterly to achieve this, "feminist scientists" attempt to cast doubt on accepted scientific explanations through endless discussions of "male paradigms." Such discussions tend to be potpourris of irrelevant facts and misconceptions that have nothing to do with any empirical question; they fool only the nonscientist, who sees impressive-looking scientific references and incorrectly assumes that these necessarily indicate that the person invoking them knows what he or she is talking about.

It is not merely wish and ideology, however, that lead feminist science to such muddled thought; there is a *tradition*, embodied in semiotics, hermeneutics, and certain forms of phenomenology that feminist science is reflecting (or perverting, depending on one's assessment of the tradition). This tradition tends to deny that there is such a thing as truth and to see perceived truths as merely shared cultural meanings that could, with proper redefinition, be converted to their opposites. It tends to deny underlying realities that set limits on what may be perceived as truth.

Whatever the virtues of this tradition in the humanities, its fallaciousness in the sciences is, or should be, too obvious to mention. Science leaves far less room for differing views of truth: someone who believes that gravity is such that when he lets go of a bowling ball it will float gently upward is simply incorrect, and someone who believes it will fall to earth is correct. This is validated by correct prediction and by the painful, swollen foot that accompanies the incorrect prediction.

If Wishes Were Horses

ALL OF THIS is as true of social science as of the physical and natural sciences. But it is the former that first, most completely, and most nakedly exhibited the contemporary tendency for ideological wish to replace scientific curiosity. In a few major areas of the social sciences this tendency has gone so far that there is but the barest pretense of scientific objectivity. Truth is measured not by concordance of explanation and reality, but of one social scientist's ideology and that of another. Unlike the blind leading the blind, who are at least *trying* to follow the right path, the majority of practitioners in some of the subdisciplines of the social sciences do not in the slightest care about truth when wish is to be served. If the majority agree on nonsense, then nonsense is truth.

Consider, for example, the fact that, among all the thousands of societies on which we have any sort of evidence, there have never been any Amazonian or matriarchal societies. The hierarchies of all societies have always been dominated by males. Virtually anyone with a scintilla of scientific curiosity responds to this empirical fact by asking, "Why?"

An answer that can be powerfully defended sees psychophysiological differences between the sexes as determinative to male and female behavior and to the unvarying social realities that reflect this behavior. Feminist attempts to explain the universality of patriarchy, unwilling to entertain the possibility that psychophysiological factors are determinative, invariably display certain features.

1. They are unparsimonious, claiming, for example, that patriarchy is a result of capitalism, an "explanation" that requires different causal factors to explain patriarchy in the thousands of societies—primitive, socialist, and the like—that are not capitalist.

2. They beg the question by giving causal primacy to the socialization of boys and girls. This "explanation" fails to ask the central question: *Why* does every society's socialization associate dominance behavior with males? To give socialization causal primacy is like saying that men grow facial hair *because* we tell little boys and girls that facial hair is unfeminine.

3. They attempt to deny the universality of the male dominance tendency and patriarchy by demonstrating that some *other* behavior or institution is not universally differentiated. This is akin to denying that males are taller on average by demonstrating that the sexes do not differ in knowledge of history.

4. They confuse economic cause with economic function. To see economic factors as the *cause* of male dominance behavior is like seeing McDonald's

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need for profits as the cause of the human need to eat.

5. They spend much of their time attacking straw-man arguments that play no role in the explanation we are discussing—for example, sociobiological explanations of why males and females evolved the way they did. The issue is not how male and female physiologies evolved, but the role of the male and female physiologies that did evolve in determining the differentiated psychologies and behaviors of males and females and the institutions that reflect these.

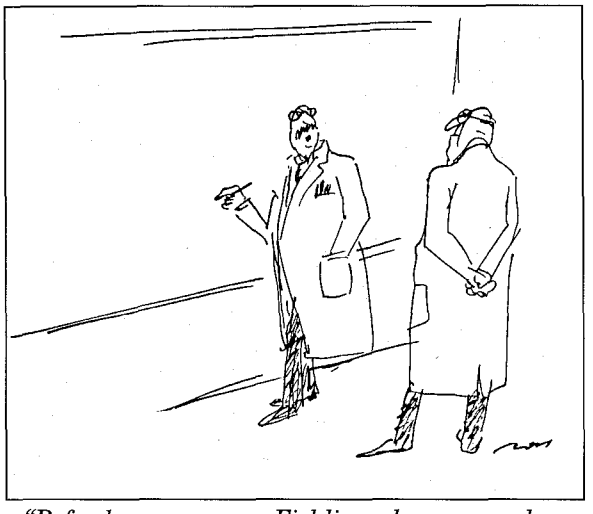
6. They make the mistake of treating the social environment as an independent variable, thereby failing to explain *why* the social environment always conforms to limits set by, and takes a direction concordant with, the physiological (i.e., never does environment act as sufficient counterpoise to enable a society to avoid male domination of hierarchies). This is easy to explain if one sees the environment as given its limits and direction by the psychophysiological natures of males and females.

Much Talk, No Science

MUCH feminist social science is not even bad reasoning about empirical questions, but empty or confused discussion that substitutes terminology for explanation. One would be hard put to find another group that talked so much about science without ever *doing* any science. There are, of course, many women scientists who *do* science: but these women never make the arguments made by the "feminist scientists" and acknowledge, in private, to being more than a little embarrassed by them.

The strongest impulse of the serious scientist is to eradicate the ignorance that the unanswered question represents. The models that the scientist uses serve this impulse. Because "feminist scientists" feel more strongly the need for a picture of reality concordant with their wishes than a need for a picture concordant with reality, they are incapable of understanding the serious scientist. The history of science is replete with examples of scientists who were impelled by emotional impulse to find one thing, but who were forced by logic and evidence to find another. Where the ideologue is content with the inappropriate model or false explanation as long as it satisfies psychological and political desire, the serious scientist cannot live with the awful gnawing of the explanation that doesn't work.

But it is the success of the answers to specific empirical questions, and not the difference of motivation between the scientist and the ideologue, that is crucial to science. For science recognizes that even the most serious of scientists is, like everyone else, vulnerable to nonscientific impulses. This is why science has at its core the mechanism for exposing the relevant manifestations of such impulses.



"Refresh my memory, Fielding—how many does it take to tango?"

Moreover, it might be the case that, if the majority of scientists were women, the *selection* of empirical realities to be studied would be different. But even if this is true, it has nothing to do with the correctness of analyses of that which *is* selected for study.

If "feminist science" develops a "feminist model" that helps us to answer some empirical question, or demonstrates the scientific inadequacy of accepted explanations, *then* it will be, as it should be, taken seriously. It will not need the adjective; it will be science. But as long as "feminist science" is nothing more than a failure to explain that for which we already have explanations—explanations that make successful predictions, the test that separates the adults from the children in science—it will be, correctly, dismissed from serious discussion.

To this point, "feminist science" has provided nothing more than endless, embarrassingly self-congratulatory discussion of terminology—discussion that neither can explain why traditional terminology permits explanations capable of making accurate predictions nor can itself make accurate predictions. When its explanations manage to avoid refutation by a cursory logical glance, they invoke bogus empirical evidence whose misrepresentation can be exposed by spending ninety seconds with the source invoked. (I have checked well over a hundred claims—never made by the ethnographer who actually studied the society in question—that a specific ethnography describes a nonpatriarchal society; it has never taken over ninety seconds with the invoked ethnography to demonstrate the ludicrousness of the claim. I have never found anyone willing to attempt to back up such a claim once it became clear that I had checked the ethnography that had been invoked.)

In any case, no one possessed by even the shadow of a scientific impulse cares in the slightest whether an interesting hypothesis is provided by a man or a woman or a goldfish. What matters is not who makes the claim, but the claim itself and its accord with nature; for the explanation of nature is the only justification for the existence of the claim.

Those who follow another imperative while pretending to care about discovering nature's secrets—those whose dishonesty and incompetence have muddled the process that has proved infinitely the best for discovering those secrets—subordinate truth to an *a priori* image of how they would like truth to be. This is indefensible for the scientist, or, indeed, for anyone who cares about finding out what is true. It replaces curiosity with narcissism and rationalizes the narcissism with a claim of humane purpose.

All this is obvious. Nonetheless, there is an astonishing number of scientists who publicly acquiesce in a position that they know should have long ago been laughed out of the university, while telling you in private that they know what they support is jejune nonsense, but that they do so in the service of the good. We used to call this lying. □

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Feminist Law

LAW AND THE UNREASONABLE WOMAN

The law, exclaim the feminists, is full of *rules*—and what could be more masculinist than that?

SHIRLEY ROBIN LETWIN

ONE OF the most insidious threats to our liberties since World War II has been an attack from within. It has been mounted by law professors, and its target is the rule of law.

The new theories of law, going under the title of "political jurisprudence," seemed relatively innocuous at first. But during the 1970s, a more openly aggressive warrior entered the lists. The Critical Legal Studies movement (CLS), directed from the Harvard Law School and dispatching disciples everywhere, announced that it hoped to destroy the existing legal system. By the 1980s, Critical Legal Studies had helped to spawn a yet more virulent descendant, feminist jurisprudence.

Intimations of the new crusade first appeared in the late 1960s at a conference on "Women and the Law" in New York. Annual conferences which followed promoted the proliferation of "Women and the Law" courses in law schools, attacks on "gender discrimination" in the courts, and articles and casebooks on "sex-based discrimination." In 1988, the Association of American Law Schools officially recognized feminist jurisprudence by devoting to it an entire issue of the *Journal of Legal Education*. For some time now, law journals have banned the pronoun *he* (writing "Judge Robert Thomas, she"); they regularly carry articles on "feminist law" by feminist professors.

Though they were first called "Fem-Crits," feminist lawyers have by now found the CLS movement wanting. At the CLS Conference in 1983, they complained of being "ghettoized." Nevertheless, they still subscribe to the central tenet of all political jurisprudence, the tenet inherited from Uncle Karl, that the human world consists of a struggle for power between weak and strong and that the strong use the legal system as an instrument of domination. The belief that the rule of law provides an even-handed application of known rules to the facts of a case has therefore to be discarded as a deceptive myth.

To this view of law, the Fem-Crits have added the proposition that sexism is analogous to classism and racism. They also analogize feminism to Marxism, the family to the market, and the division between men and women to the division between public and private. And they maintain that the law is a male concoction which systematically oppresses women.

Their revolutionary intentions are plainly announced: "feminism is political, methodological, philosophical, and intent upon social transformation," Professor Leslie Bender of Syracuse University tells us. It "requires large-scale participation and revision of our society." But about the shape of the brave new world, the maidens are suitably coy: "Until domination of women is ended in all institutions, we cannot know what undominated degenderized forms will emerge with which to construct a critical form of androgyny."

Down with Reason

DESPITE their fierce denunciations of "patriarchy" and "male domination," a determination to end the oppression of women is not what really distinguishes feminist jurisprudence. Talking about the iniquities of men disguises a more radical objective—an attack on all rational discourse.

Feminist legal theorists divide the world into two kinds of beings: those who "confront problems contextually" with "particularity and sensitivity to feelings and physical needs," as opposed to those who think in terms of universals, principles, rules, distinctions, consistency. Women, they believe, instinctively exhibit the former attitude; the latter is the male view, which has dominated civilization. In particular, feminists abhor distinctions. Those between what is rational and irrational, objective and prejudiced, principled and arbitrary, are condemned for belonging to the cold male outlook. So are distinctions between private and public, personal and political. All general distinctions should be banned, say the feminists, becaue they prevent us from recognizing that our knowledge is "subjective" and "personal."

Even worse is what used to be prized as the leading virtue of the law—its formality and abstraction. Feminists deplore the fact that legal rules are made in advance and without knowledge of the particular circumstances in which they will be invoked. They are distressed that judges are obliged to hand down what feminists denounce as "objective, rule-based decisions supported by notions of individual autonomy, individual rights," and "equality and fairness." All this feminists want to replace with more "personal" ways of resolving conflicts which would be based on "caring, compassion, and need."

But the most notorious achievement of feminist jurisprudence has been its influence on courts and legislators. Here the object is nothing so naïve as to give women equal rights with men. That would reduce feminists to the banal level of suffragettes, asking merely to be let in, too, and in no way challenging the system itself. The ambition of feminist lawyers is to purify legal equality of any male connotations of objectivity and neutrality which, by requiring men and women to be treated equally, in effect subject

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women to male standards. Any concern with formal legal equality horrifies feminists because it "prevents us from seeing whether actual material conditions have moved any closer to 'real' or 'substantive equality' measured in empirical terms such as income or desegregation of employment, schools, and other institutions."

The feminists' attitude to legal equality rests on the research of Professor Carol Gilligan, a psychologist at Harvard University. She has discovered that girls tend to score poorly on tests measuring the power of moral reasoning because the tests are based on male norms such as rights and abstract principles of justice. The girls do badly, according to Professor Gilligan, because their attention is focused on people's dependence on one another. Women generally identify with oppressed groups, because—being childbearers and having worked as secretaries and cleaning staff—they know from experience the evils of being an "underclass." Such considerations are necessarily ignored by a system that "resolves problems" from male vantage points which are "distanced, abstract, and acontextual."

Sinister Logic

WHAT IS this sinister logic that feminists abhor? Nothing less than the reasoning that constitutes the rule of law. It is the movement in a legal argument from rules, to the facts of the case, to conclusions about guilt or liability. According to feminists, this kind of reasoning teaches people to see the real world from above looking down. Law students thus learn to value the theory of law more than the practice of law and to believe that the essence of law is respect for rules rather than concern for real people. Although students enter the law school with an instinctive aversion to the conclusions of the "reasoned analysis" that teachers impose on them, they come out, alas, thinking in terms of "rationally derived universal principles" and believing that there are "legally relevant distinctions between acts and omissions."

It is true, feminists fearlessly acknowledge, that after extracting the "male biases from our language, methods, and structures," we "will have nothing—no words, no concepts, no science, no methods, no law." In short, we will have disposed of civilization. What will we then want in its place?

In keeping with such privileged female insights, feminists want to rid the law of individual rights and transform it into a bundle of group rights. But they are even more anxious to give duties precedence over rights. They would accordingly reform the law of torts so as to impose a duty on *any* bystander to assist *anyone* injured or in danger. They are outraged that the existing law of torts imposes no such obligation unless the bystander had a prior duty to the particular person in trouble.

That tort law requires the duty to be fulfilled as a "reasonable person" would do in the given circumstances

"When you answer the phone, read off the names. Don't just say, 'A bunch of stiffs.'"

makes it all the more offensive. The "reasonable person" standard, like all "universally applicable measures for conduct," is designed to "encourage conformity" with the "dominant ideological stance." Any standard is evil because a standard as such necessarily imposes male characteristics. It would be less objective, and hence less oppressive, to speak of the care required of a "neighbor" or "social acquaintance." That would acknowledge that we are all interconnected rather than separate, give "safety priority over profit and efficiency" and thus make the law "a positive force in encouraging and improving our social relations."

Thanks to the male obsession with "rights, autonomy, and abstraction," tort law now ignores "human needs and hurts." The feminists insist that it should instead give priority to a victim's interest "in having his life saved" over the bystander's interest in minimizing the burden of legally imposed "affirmative duties." So dedicated are they to imposing duties that they propose no limit on the kind or intensity of misfortunes that strangers to the sufferer should be required to relieve. Nor do they suggest how such a multitude of "affirmative duties" could be effectively enforced by anything other than a horribly efficient police state. Their only concern is that tort law be reformed to rest on the—highly realistic—proposition that "no one should be hurt."

Contract law is another object of the feminists' derision, though here they are following a trail well marked by all forms of political jurisprudence. Like their male counterparts, they regard contracts as at best a nuisance, but more probably sinister. The niceties of the contract agreed are of no importance to them. If a woman sues a moving company for damaging her goods, the fact that she had signed a contract waiving insurance is irrelevant. The important point is that the woman "had not read the contract because the house was really cold and the men were tired and in a hurry to get out." She was "acting like a reasonable woman," argues Professor Mary Joe Frug, because women are "socialized to value other people's feelings highly."

But despite their passionate antipathy to the rule of law as traditionally understood, feminist legal scholars cannot agree on what their new vision of "law" requires. They are divided about whether equal treatment for men and women in education should mean affirmative action favoring women or whether women should attend separate schools because, unless women are treated differently, the results will not be equal. Some feminists demand that "treatment as equals," when applied to pregnant women, should be interpreted as "special treatment" which takes into account biological differences. Against this, Professor Wendy Williams argues that "pregnancy . . . should be treated as any other temporary physical disability." Special privileges for pregnant women, she argues, would prove detrimental to women in the long run, just as protective labor legislation kept women out of higher-paying jobs.

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Even about the treatment of pornography feminists disagree. Catharine MacKinnon advocates allowing injunctions against pornographers who "traffic in materials that can be proven to subordinate women." But she is fiercely opposed by those who regard her suggestions as an invitation to censorship contrary to the spirit of the First Amendment. And of course black feminists criticize white feminists for ignoring the experiences of poor nonwhite women.

Vivent les Différences!

INDEED, the disagreements have been multiplying so quickly that feminist jurists now feel compelled to explain that though their movement, at first, wanted women to be treated like men, it has progressed to recognizing that women differ not only from men but even from one another. This is undoubtedly a remarkable discovery.

For the moment, however, there is agreement on the crime invented by Professor MacKinnon—sexual harassment stemming from a hostile work environment. That invention is only one aspect of her campaign to protect women from men. She has toured the country proclaiming that sexual violence against women pervades all relationships between men and women, even the voluntary ones. She has campaigned vigorously against allowing courts even to consider in rape cases whether the accused believed that his victim had consented. Professor MacKinnon insists that only the victim's (that is, the accuser's) point of view matters: in harassment cases the intention of the male is irrelevant in determining whether a hostile environment exists.

In a recent case, a female agent of the Internal Revenue Service sued her employer for failing to protect her from a co-worker who had made her "frantic" with fear, by sending a letter in which he wrote, "I know that you are worth knowing with or without sex," and offered to leave her alone if she so wished. The federal district court concluded that his offenses were "isolated and genuinely trivial." But the appeals court, while recognizing that the victim's admirer was merely wooing her, reversed the decision on the ground that it was her perception and not his intentions that mattered. If such decisions become established laws, feminist influence will soon sterilize all workplaces. In January of this year, a court in Jacksonville, Florida, held that the pornography on the walls and the sexual jokes bandied about by the male workers in a shipyard rendered the working environment "abusive" to a "reasonable woman," even though only *one* of the many female employees had complained.

The latitude now allowed in cases concerning sexual aggression has exempted women even from the rule that force may be used in self-defense only when there is an imminent threat and only in the degree needed to fend off the attacker. Thanks to Elizabeth Schneider of Brooklyn Law School and others, who have persuaded courts to consider expert testimony on the psychology of battered wives, a women who killed her husband in his sleep has been acquitted on grounds of self-defense. That a woman continues to live with her husband no longer counts against her because, it is argued, she does so out of fear that he would become more violent if she left. The governors of both Ohio and Maryland recently commuted the prison sentences of a number of women convicted of killing or assaulting men on the ground that the women were living "in a constant state of danger of death."

We may sum up the contribution of feminist jurisprudence in this area as follows: If a man is alleged to have raped a woman, his belief that she had consented to intercourse must not be considered by the court, however warranted by the apparent facts of the case; if a woman is alleged to have murdered a man, her belief that she was threatened by him must be accepted by the court, however contrary to the apparent facts of the case; and in both instances this is the result of casting aside general rules and examining each case on its contextual merits.

But the most shocking thing about feminist jurisprudence is how much evidence it provides for concluding that women are incapable of mastering the ideas and skills on which Western civilization rests. For abstractions, standards, distinctions, logic, and objectivity are of the essence of all our arts, sciences, and institutions. It is inconceivable that women should have wished so to disqualify themselves. Therefore, the movement must have been dreamt up by male chauvinists, determined to exclude women from everything but caring for hopeless invalids. Why else would the dean of the very eminent Law School at the University of Chicago describe feminist jurisprudence "as the most interesting intellectual movement in quite some time"? □

Sexual Harassment

MAY I HAVE THE PLEASURE . . .

Sexual harassment is hard to define, easy to allege—and lucrative for the anti-harassment brigade.

GRETCHEN MORGENSON

ON OCTOBER 11, in the middle of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas contretemps, the *New York Times* somberly reported that sexual harassment pervades the American workplace. The source for this page-one story was a *Times*/CBS poll conducted two days earlier in which a handful (294) of women were

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interviewed by telephone. Thirty-eight per cent of respondents confirmed that they had been at one time or another "the object of sexual advances, propositions, or unwanted sexual discussions from men who supervise you or can affect your position at work." How many reported the incident at the time it happened? Four per cent.

Did the *Times* offer any explanation for why so few actually reported the incident? Could it be that these women did not report their "harassment" because they themselves did not regard a sexual advance as harassment? Some intelligent speculation on this matter might shed light on a key point: the vague definitions of harassment that make it easy to allege, hard to identify, and almost impossible to prosecute. Alas, the *Times* was in no mood to enlighten its readers.

It has been more than ten years since the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) wrote its guidelines defining sexual harassment as a form of sexual discrimination and, therefore, illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. According to the EEOC there are two different types of harassment: so-called *quid pro quo* harassment, in which career or job advancement is guaranteed in return for sexual favors, and environmental harassment, in which unwelcome sexual conduct "unreasonably interferes" with an individual's working environment or creates an "intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment."

Following the EEOC's lead, an estimated three out of four companies nationwide have instituted strict policies against harassment; millions of dollars are spent each year educating employees in the subtleties of Title VII etiquette. Men are warned to watch their behavior, to jettison the patronizing pat and excise the sexist comment from their vocabularies.

Yet, if you believe what you read in the newspapers, we are in the Stone Age where the sexes are concerned. A theme common to the media, plaintiff's lawyers, and employee-relations consultants is that male harassment of women is costing corporations millions each year in lost productivity and low employee morale. "Sexual harassment costs a typical Fortune 500 Service or Manufacturing company $6.7 million a year" says a sexual-harassment survey conducted late in 1988 for *Working Woman* by Klein Associates. This Boston consulting firm is part of a veritable growth industry which has sprung up to dispense sexual-harassment advice to worried companies in the form of seminars, videos, and encounter groups.

But is sexual harassment such a huge problem in business? Or is it largely a product of hype and hysteria? The statistics show that sexual harassment is less prevalent today than it was five years ago. According to the EEOC, federal cases alleging harassment on the job totaled 5,694 in 1990, compared to 6,342 in 1984. Yet today there are 17 per cent more women working than there were then.

At that, the EEOC's figures are almost certainly too high. In a good many of those complaints, sexual harassment may be tangential to the case; the complaint may primarily involve another form of discrimination in Title VII territory: race, national origin, or religious discrimination, for example. The EEOC doesn't separate cases involving sexual harassment alone; any case where sexual harassment is mentioned, even in passing, gets lumped into its figures.

Many of the stories depicting sexual harassment as a severe problem spring from "consultants" whose livelihoods depend upon exaggerating its extent. In one year, DuPont spent $450,000 on sexual-harassment training programs and materials. Susan Webb, president of Pacific Resources Development Group, a Seattle consultant, says she spends 95 per cent of her time advising on sexual harassment. Like most consultants, Miss Webb acts as an expert witness in harassment cases, conducts investigations for companies and municipalities, and teaches seminars. She charges clients $1,500 for her 35-minute sexual-harassment video program and handbooks.

Unfelt Needs

CORPORATIONS began to express concern on the issue back in the early Eighties, just after the EEOC published its first guidelines. But it was *Meritor Savings Bank* v. *Vinson*, a harassment case that made it to the Supreme Court in 1985, that really acted as an employment act for sex-harassment consultants. In *Vinson*, the Court stated that employers could limit their liability to harassment claims by implementing anti-harassment policies and procedures in the workplace. And so, the anti-harassment industry was born.

Naturally, the consultants believe they are filling a need, not creating one. "Harassment is still as big a problem as it has been because the workplace is not integrated," says Susan Webb. Ergo, dwindling numbers of cases filed with the EEOC are simply not indicative of a diminution in the problem.

Then what do the figures indicate? Two things, according to the harassment industry. First, that more plaintiffs are bringing private lawsuits against their employers than are suing through the EEOC or state civil-rights commissions. Second, that the number of cases filed is a drop in the bucket compared to the number of actual, everyday harassment incidents.

It certainly stands to reason that a plaintiff in a sexual-harassment case would prefer bringing a private action against her employer to filing an EEOC claim. EEOC and state civil-rights cases allow plaintiffs only compensatory damages, such as back pay or legal fees. In order to collect big money—punitive damages—from an employer, a plaintiff must file a private action.

Yet there's simply no proof that huge or increasing numbers of private actions are being filed today. No data are collected on numbers of private harassment suits filed, largely because they're brought as tort actions—assault and battery, emotional distress, or breach of contract. During the second half of the Eighties, the San Francisco law firm of Orrick, Herrington, and Sutcliffe monitored private sexual-harassment cases filed in California. Its findings: From 1984 to 1989, the number of sexual-harassment cases in California that were litigated through to a verdict totaled a whopping 15. That's in a state with almost six million working women.

Of course, cases are often settled prior to a verdict. But how many? Orrick, Herrington partner Ralph H. Baxter Jr., management co-chairman of the American Bar Association's Labor Law Committee on Employee Rights and Responsibilities, believes the number of private sexual-harassment cases launched today is greatly overstated. "Litigation is not as big a

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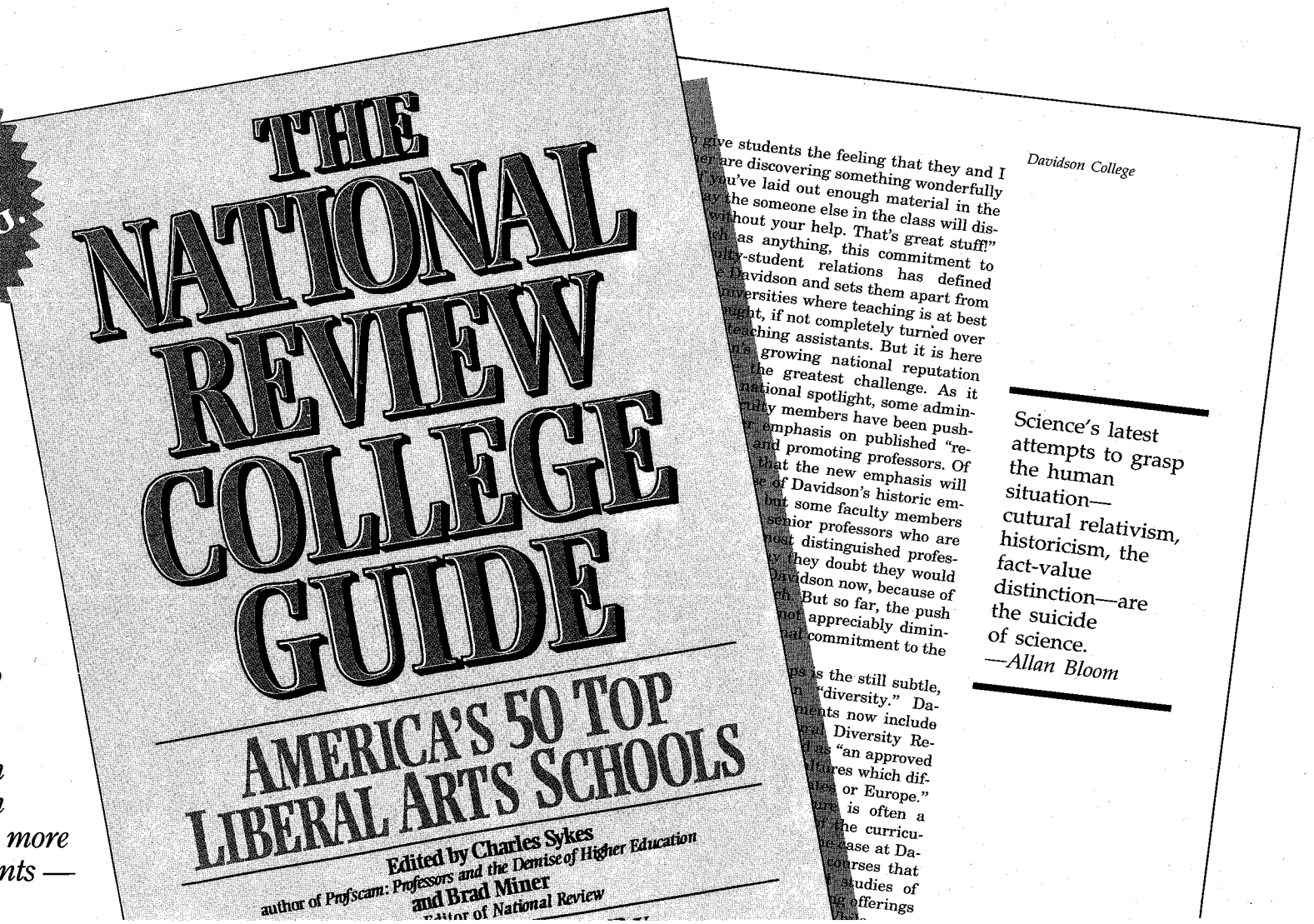
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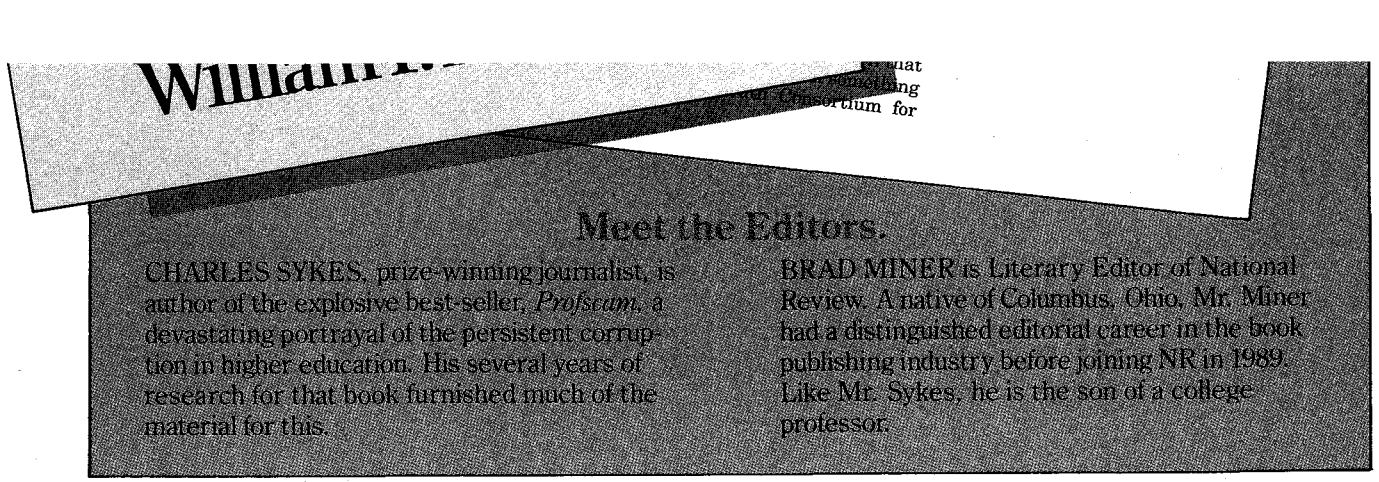
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problem as it's made out to be; you're not going to see case after case," says Mr. Baxter. "A high percentage of matters go to the EEOC and a substantial number of cases get resolved."

Those sexual-harassment actions that do get to a jury are the ones that really grab headlines. A couple of massive awards have been granted in recent years—five plaintiffs were awarded $3.8 million by a North Carolina jury—but most mammoth awards are reduced on appeal. In fact, million-dollar sexual-harassment verdicts are still exceedingly rare. In California, land of the happy litigator, the median jury verdict for all sexual-harassment cases litigated between 1984 and 1989 was $183,000. The top verdict in the state was just under $500,000, the lowest was $45,000. And California, known for its sympathetic jurors, probably produces higher awards than most states.

Now to argument number two: that the number of litigated harassment cases is tiny compared to the number of actual incidents that occur. Bringing a sexual-harassment case is similar to filing a rape case, consultants and lawyers say; both are nasty proceedings which involve defamation, possible job loss, and threats to both parties' family harmony.

It may well be that cases of perceived harassment go unfiled, but is it reasonable to assume that the numbers of these unfiled cases run into the millions? Consider the numbers of cases filed that are dismissed for "no probable cause." According to the New York State human-rights commission, almost two-thirds of the complaints filed in the past five years were dismissed for lack of probable cause. Of the two hundred sexual-harassment cases the commission receives a year, 38 per cent bring benefits to the complainant.

What about private actions? No one keeps figures on the percentage of cases nationwide won by the plaintiff versus the percentage that are dismissed. However, the outcomes of private sexual-harassment suits brought in California from 1984 to 1989 mirror the public figures from New York. According to Orrick, Herrington, of the 15 cases litigated to a verdict in California from 1984 to 1989, slightly less than half were dismissed and slightly more than half (53 per cent) were won by the plaintiff.

ASK HIM—IS HE NOW, OR HAS HE EVER BEEN, A SEXUAL HARASSER OF WOMEN.
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SENATE AID

Are California and New York anomalies? Stephen Perlman, a partner in labor law at the Boston firm of Ropes & Gray, who has 15 years' experience litigating sexual-harassment cases, thinks not: "I don't suppose I've had as many as a dozen cases go to litigation. Most of the cases I've seen—the vast majority—get dismissed. They don't even have probable cause to warrant further processing."

What Is Harassment?

A MAJOR PROBLEM is the vague definition of harassment. If "environmental harassment" were clearly defined and specifiable, lawyers would undoubtedly see more winnable cases walk through their doors. Asking a subordinate to perform sexual favors in exchange for a raise is clearly illegal. But a dirty joke? A pin-up? A request for a date?

In fact, behavior which one woman may consider harassment could be seen by another as a non-threatening joke. The closest thing to harassment that I have experienced during my 15-year career occurred in the early Eighties when I was a stockbroker-in-training at Dean Witter Reynolds in New York City. I had brought in the largest personal account within Dean Witter's entire retail brokerage system, an account which held roughly $20 million in blue-chip stocks. Having this account under my management meant I had a larger capital responsibility than any of my colleagues, yet I was relatively new to the business. My fellow brokers were curious, but only one was brutish enough to walk right up to me and pop the question: "How did you get that account? Did you sleep with the guy?"

Instead of running away in tears, I dealt with him as I would any rude person. "Yeah," I answered. "Eat your heart out." He turned on his heel and never bothered me again. Was my colleague a harasser, or just practicing Wall Street's aggressive humor, which is dished out to men in other ways? Apparently, I am in the minority in thinking the latter. But the question remains. Whose standards should be used to define harassment?

Under tort law, the behavior which has resulted in a case—such as an assault or the intent to cause emotional distress—must be considered objectionable by a "reasonable person." The EEOC follows this lead and in its guidelines defines environmental harassment as that which "unreasonably interferes with an individual's job performance."

Yet, sexual-harassment consultants argue that any such behavior—even that which is perceived as harassment only by the most hypersensitive employee—ought to be considered illegal and stamped out. In fact, they say, the subtler hostile-environment cases are the most common and cause the most anguish. Says Frieda Klein, the Boston consultant: "My goal is to create a corporate climate where every employee feels free to object to behavior, where people are clear about their boundaries and can ask that objectionable behavior stop."

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Sounds great. But rudeness and annoying behavior cannot be legislated out of existence; nor should corporations be forced to live under the tyranny of a hypersensitive employee. No woman should have to run a daily gauntlet of sexual innuendo, but neither is it reasonable for women to expect a pristine work environment free of coarse behavior.

Susan Hartzoge Gray, a labor lawyer at Haworth, Riggs, Kuhn, and Haworth in Raleigh, North Carolina, believes that hostile-environment harassment shouldn't be actionable under Title VII. "How can the law say one person's lewd and another's nice?" she asks. "There are so many different taste levels. . . . We condone sexual jokes and innuendos in the media—a movie might get a PG rating—yet an employer can be called on the carpet because the same thing bothers someone in an office."

But changing demographics may do more to eliminate genuine sexual harassment than all the apparatus of law and consultancy. As women reach a critical mass in the workforce, the problem of sexual harassment tends to go away. Frieda Klein says the problem practically vanishes once 30 per cent of the workers in a department, an assembly line, or a company are women.

Reaching that critical mass won't take long. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, there will be 66 million women to 73 million men in the workplace by 2000. They won't all be running departments or heading companies, of course, but many will.

So sexual harassment will probably become even less of a problem in the years ahead than it is today. But you are not likely to read that story in a major newspaper anytime soon. Indeed, sexual harassment has all the earmarks of an issue Democrats will use to try to steal voters, particularly women, from the GOP. Such tactics are more likely to worsen the Democrats' already woeful standing with male voters, who went 58 per cent Republican in the last presidential election. The likelihood of losing more than they stand to gain from highlighting sexual harassment probably won't stop the Democrats—unless George Bush has saved them by endorsing the feminist agenda of punitive damages for vaguely defined sex-harassment charges in his new litigation-boosting civil-rights bill. □

The Unisex Army

WHAT DID YOU DO IN THE GULF, MOMMY?

Women sharing a field tent with men learn some facts of life the ideologues don't know.

ELAINE DONNELLY

THE Gulf War, universally abhorred by feminist ideologues, served nonetheless as a vehicle to put into practice their most cherished theories. With relentless efficiency, the Pentagon tested the hypothesis that in a unisex world, men and women are interchangeable in all occupations—that it makes no difference who does the soldiering and who does the mothering.

But the experiment was not a success. As it stretched from weeks into months, feminist theories began to crumble in the face of fundamental realities of human nature. The nation was traumatized, for example, by the sight of babies being left behind by helmeted young mothers on their way to the Gulf. Pictures of male soldiers leaving their children behind have always tugged at the heart, but there was an extra dimension of uneasiness because of the number of single mothers and of couples who were both in the service. In a recent *Newsweek* poll 89 per cent of respondents said they are still troubled by the idea of mothers going to war.

Then there were the sexual tensions that did not respond to bureaucratic mandates for professionalism in the workplace. In spite of Pentagon management of the news, there were many reports of illegal fraternization, genuine sexual harassment, and elevated pregnancy rates—all of which seriously affected readiness and morale.

These problems cannot be blamed on women alone, or on men as a group. Rather, they were due to unrealistic expectations for a unisex world which do not allow for human characteristics, normal emotions, and personal weaknesses.

Disappearing Feminists

WHEN the going got rough in Saudi Arabia, feminists who wring their hands about sexual harassment in the workplace were nowhere to be found. While criticizing Middle Eastern society for not allowing women to drive cars, they ignored the plight of enlisted women who had to put up with little or no privacy in co-ed field tents, makeshift showers, unsanitary latrines, and the constant companionship of men equipped with military-issue condoms that were not intended for the women swathed in veils.

But of course feminist leaders rarely denounce conditions that they insist *other* women can endure. In 1989, Canadian Assistant Defense Minister Mary Collins reportedly commented that sexual incidents in the field may be "the price of equality" for military women.

Civilian feminists consistently make inconsistent demands in the name of military women. When it comes to co-ed field tents and mothers going to war, they insist on strict equality. But when it comes to physical requirements that are directly related to the job, they insist on double standards.

Mrs. Donnelly is a former member of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) and Executive Director of the Coalition for Military Readiness.

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During Senate hearings in June on the issue of women in combat, members of the Armed Services Committee heard a great deal of testimony about "gender-norming"—the practice of routinely scoring women's physical test results differently from men's. When I visited West Point in 1985, I noticed, for example, that a female cadet's "A" performance on the obstacle course was the same as that graded "C" for a man.

Gender-norming is designed to fudge the truth that everyone knows: on average, women are not as physically strong as men. Faced with this inconvenient truth, the Pentagon has made "adjustments" for women.

In 1982, for example, the Women in the Army (WITA) project was to match individual physical capabilities to the demands of Army jobs. But the Pentagon-based Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) complained that sex-neutral standards to qualify recruits were unfair because they tended to disqualify women.

The Pentagon promptly gave in on the point, and downgraded the test to nothing more than a "recruiting guidance tool." The result is that a woman who doesn't meet the qualifications can still get a strenuous job. This is not the policy in Canada, where physical training standards in infantry boot camp were not lowered to accommodate women. In 1989, 101 out of 102 women failed to make the grade, so they didn't get the job.

Gender-norming, dual standards, flexible requirements, and "equivalent" training are counterproductive because they destroy the meaning of the word "qualified." In close combat all soldiers are interdependent; their lives depend on the strength, stamina, and speed of all unit members.

EVE FATIGUE

EVE FATIGUE is an affliction that comes over a society that has had all the feminism it can stand. Say, for example, you are shopping by phone and the person taking your order for a shower curtain asks you what color you want.

"You have a choice—" You don't even hear the rest; your mind shuts down because every lurching move a woman makes is called a *choice*. The nullipara of all choices is, of course, abortion, but now feminists are saying that women should be able to *choose* whether to serve in combat, and rape victims should be allowed to *choose* whether to let their names be published.

On June 18, during Senate Armed Services Committee hearings, the chiefs of the four military branches voiced such blunt objections to women in combat that they sounded Pattonesque. The Air Force representative frankly admitted that he considers male gender the premier qualification for a fighter pilot, and calmly justified his views with the first completely guiltless and public utterance to fall from the lips of a white male in two decades: "Maybe I'm wrong, but I can't help it, that's the way I feel."

Another sign that the Pentagon may be moving from the Potomac marshes to Eve Fatigue Flats was a July 1 news story about Captain Linda Bray, America's first war heroine, who liberated a dog kennel during the Panamanian action in 1989. Linda Bray is no longer in the army. She is now a housewife, her sporty look exchanged for frosted hair and long pointed nails painted "Maui Mango." As they say in Gothic novels, *What terrible thing happened to Linda Bray?*

She was hounded out of the Army.

Writes Scripps Howard reporter Peter Copeland: "When she and her company returned home to Fort Benning, Captain Bray was visited by investigators from the Army's Criminal Investigation Division asking what had happened to the dogs at the kennel. A Panamanian soldier had accused American soldiers of killing the dogs several days after the invasion."

No one is more susceptible to Eve Fatigue than former feminist role models. Warning women against careers in the infantry, the five-foot-one, 105-pound Linda Bray recites a cautionary tale worthy of Phyllis Schlafly: "I carried too much weight. I always felt pressure in the military. 'You don't have very much weight in your rucksack. Why don't you carry a little more?' I kept adding more until my hips broke. I can't run, jump. I can't even go grocery shopping without having to sit down because it hurts."

Eve Fatigue replaced the seventh-inning stretch on July 5 when Washington's Orioles' baseball channel ran a Children's Defense Fund public-service ad. It shows a crowd of concerned citizens picketing a white marble government building. Some of the picketers are male, but the camera lingers on careerish women in business suits. One such woman has brought her baby in a carriage, but she gets so immersed in clamoring and petitioning that she leaves the carriage perched precariously at the top of a long marble staircase.

As the voice-over recites statistics on America's soaring rates of infant mortality, malnutrition, and child neglect and abuse, the baby carriage starts to roll backward down the steps. The statistics fly faster and faster, and so does the carriage. Finally the politically active mother remembers her child and turns around, but it's too late. As she watches in helpless horror, the bough breaks and down goes baby, cradle, and all.

Running this ad during a baseball game, when the viewership is overwhelmingly male, meets the definition of that ubiquitous act of our times known as "sending a message." Eve Fatigue is "on the table," and feminists are so panicked that *Washington Post* columnist Judy Mann detects that old devil "linkage" between a Betty Friedan speech and another news event of the same day.

"Ten minutes after she finished speaking, President Bush nominated Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. Four times, the President referred to him as the 'best man' for the job, suggesting that only men were considered. It was one of many ominous signs of what's to come."

Paranoia doesn't get any better than this. —FLORENCE KING

Miss King is the author most recently of Lump It or Leave It.

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"Close combat" is defined as finding, closing with, and killing or capturing the enemy; it is more than the experience of being in danger. In that brutal environment, women don't have an equal opportunity to survive, or to help their fellow their fellow soldiers survive. It's not realistic to expect that for men war will be hell, but for women it will just be heck.

Congress Knows Best

CONGRESS was pondering issues like this all summer, in response to an amendment sponsored by Representative Patricia Schroeder (D., Colo.) and approved by the House in May with little notice or public debate. The Schroeder amendment, and a companion measure sponsored by Edward Kennedy in the Senate, would begin the repeal of women's combat exemptions, starting with female aviators.

The Senate Armed Services Committee defeated Kennedy's amendment on an overwhelming bi-partisan vote. But the full Senate passed it in July, over the objections of the chiefs of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

Together with other military witnesses, the service chiefs had testified that repeal of the law could not be limited to female aviators only. They warned that it would be impractical and politically untenable to bar women from Navy carriers on which fighter aircraft land. And because it would be inconsistent to treat enlisted women differently from officers, it would only be a matter of time before women were assigned—on the same *involuntary* basis as men—to all fighting units, including submarines, amphibious forces, tanks, and infantry.

There was strong but generally silent opposition from enlisted women, who will have to endure the worst of this—or give up their careers—if combat exemptions are repealed. Active-duty men and women who opposed the bill could not say so publicly without risking a negative mark in their personnel files. Aggressive female officers, on the other hand, swarmed door to door in the halls of Congress, taking advantage of the reluctance of Pentagon officials to enforce regulations against lobbying by uniformed personnel. The officer-lobbyists argued that combat exemptions are a barrier to career advancement, disregarding Defense Department figures that clearly indicate *all* military women are being consistently promoted at faster rates than men.

A conference committee will soon decide whether to rush ahead with repeal, or wait until a presidential commission determines what the financial costs and social consequences will be. In the meantime, accomplished, patriotic servicewomen who serve their country well may want to consider whether it is in their best interests for the Pentagon to continue taking direction from feminist activists with an ideological axe to grind.

The sexual incidents, for example, will never be ended as long as the military pretends that men and women are emotionless, perfectly interchangeable units whose physical differences can be disguised with unisex housing and gender-norming schemes.

Nor will family and child-care problems be resolved as long as the military promises more than it can possi-

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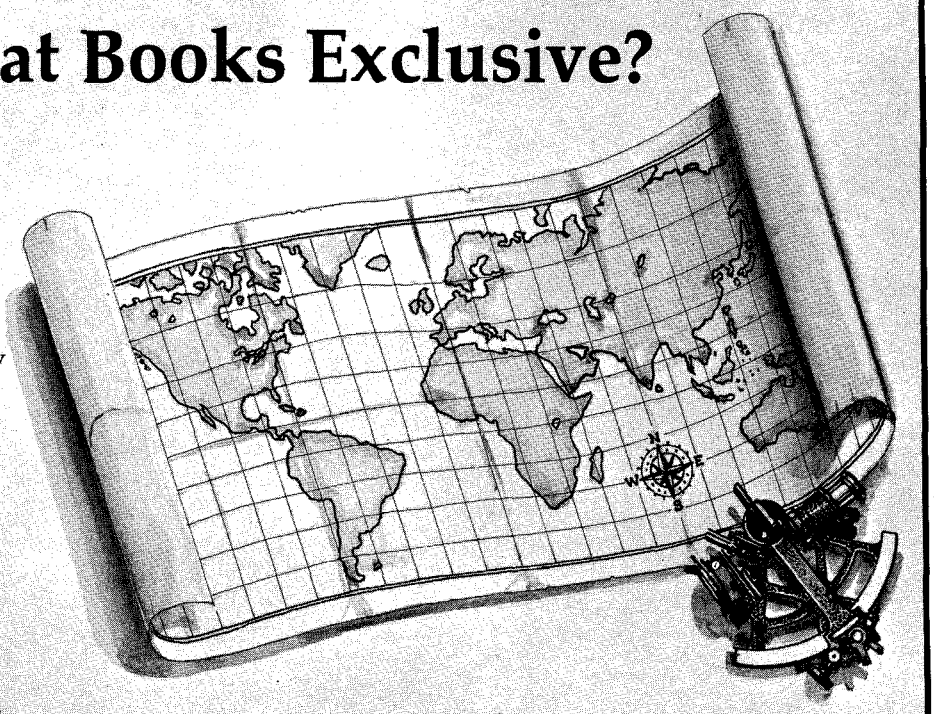

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Simply Divine

THE GODDESS SQUAD

Announcing: a Christianity that disallows everything Christ said about Himself or His Father.

WILLIAM ODDIE

PREDICTING the future is a risky business. Over forty years ago, C. S. Lewis explained why the Church of England would never ordain women to its priesthood. Writing within the Anglo-Catholic tradition, he saw the priest as "a double representative, who represents us to God, and God to us." As he usually did, Lewis moved beyond the immediate topic to what lay behind it. "Suppose," he said,

> the reformer stops saying that a good woman may be like God, and begins saying that God is like a good woman. Suppose he says that we might just as well pray to "Our Mother which art in heaven" as to "Our Father." Suppose he suggests that the Incarnation might just as well have taken a female form as a male form, and the second person of the Trinity as well called the Daughter as the Son. . . . All this, as it seems to me, is involved in the claim that a woman can represent God as a priest does.
>
> Now it is surely the case that if . . . these supposals were ever carried into effect we should be embarked on a different religion. Goddesses have, of course, been worshipped: many religions have had priestesses. *But they are religions quite different in character from Christianity.*

Was Lewis right? Has radical Christian feminism, as it has developed since his day, borne out his analysis? How close are radical feminists within the churches to being "embarked on a different religion"?

Certainly, they are more than inclined, like Lewis's "reformer," to say that "we might just as well pray to 'Our Mother which art in heaven' as to 'Our Father.' " More: they will mostly insist that calling God "Father" is part of a "patriarchal" system of ideas which has established and nurtured the alleged oppression of women within the Christian Church.

This last claim is worth examining, for it is almost universal among Christian feminists. In the words of the Catholic feminist activist Catharina Halkes, "it is hardly possible to call to mind a single feminist theologian, whatever her phase of development may be, who does not find the image of the Father–God a challenge and a direct confrontation." Miss Halkes goes on (almost inevitably) to quote the famous battle-cry of the matriarchalist pagan writer Mary Daly: "If God is male, then the male is God." To see God as a Father, in other words, has confirmed the status quo of "patriarchal" society, and has sacralized the domination of women by men.

There are clear objections to this line of argument. Most obviously, perhaps, it is far from clear that matriarchal religions, or religions with a mixed pantheon of gods and goddesses, were ever reflected in a higher status for women: there is, in fact, considerable evidence to the contrary.

A more straightforward objection is the lack of any evidence that, either now or in Christian history, women in any significant numbers have felt themselves excluded and oppressed by the perception of God as Father, or have expected their own femaleness to be mirrored in their symbolic understanding of God as an object of worship. This inconvenient fact is explained away by the centuries of supposed conditioning by a patriarchal Church which has made it acceptable to women to pray to a Father God.

The feminists' mission, therefore, is to "raise the consciousness" of their mentally enslaved sisters. Finding a language for God which reflects a specifically female image and which refuses to accept as definitive the New Testament symbolism of God as Father and as Son is a first priority of Christian feminist theology and liturgical experiment.

God the Mother

IT IS becoming increasingly clear, as the evidence accumulates and its implications emerge, that the attempt by feminists to use non-Biblical female language for God is—to use unfashionable but unavoidable language—plainly heretical, and that this makes "Christian feminism" itself a heresy in the classical sense. As the "post-Christian" feminist theologian Daphne Hampson (a veteran of the Anglican campaign to ordain women) puts it:

> Nothing would seem to indicate better the incompatibility between feminism and Christianity than the difficulty in naming God in a female way within that tradition. Yet *that they should see God in their own image*, and not in the image of the opposite sex, has become fundamental to many women. [My italics.]

But the Fatherhood of God, for Christians, is no mere metaphor. The Fatherhood of God is a reality; it is part of the revelation Christ came to give. Jesus Himself is recorded in the Gospels as using the word "Father" some 170 times: it is His name for God, and with only one exception, it is the only word He uses to refer to God or to address Him. At no point does Jesus imply that God is merely *like* a Father to Him: His message is that in very truth *God actually is His Father.* He is begotten, not made.

And this understanding is at the

Mr. Oddie is the author of What Will Happen to God: Feminism and The Reconstruction of Christian Belief *(Ignatius Press).*

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heart of the faith of the early Church. In the words of the great Biblical scholars Edwyn Hoskins and Noel Davey: "the definition of Jesus as the Son of God, and the consequent rider that God is His Father, underlie all the books of the New Testament. These were the fundamental dogmas of primitive Christian theology and ethics."

It was Feuerbach and Marx, in the nineteenth century, who precisely reversed this understanding, insisting, in effect, that it is from human fatherhood that God the Father is named. In Marx's words, "*Man makes religion.*" Religion is not received from God, but invented by humanity to fulfill its own needs: "religion," he pronounced, "is the self-consciousness and self-feeling of man." Marx's formula translates into the feminist idiom, with an uncanny accuracy of tone, as "*feminist* religion is the self-consciousness and self-feeling of woman."

Perhaps the most representative Christian feminist is the American Catholic writer, Rosemary Radford Ruether, representative in two senses of the word: that she accurately indicates the movement's general tendency, and that she would be accepted by most Christian feminists as speaking for them. Mrs. Ruether's most influential works perhaps are *Sexism and God-Talk* (1983), *Womanguides* (1985), and *Women-Church* (1986). These last two were intended as ideological and liturgical resources for a kind of internal Catholic women's sect, called "Women-Church," which began to spread under Mrs. Ruether's influence among radical activists in America during the Eighties, and which has now spread widely among the mainline churches.

Womanguides is a collection of texts, a first contribution to what Mrs. Ruether sees as a priority for feminists: the displacement of the Bible as the normative source for Christian belief, so that it becomes simply one source among many for what she calls "a new textual base, a new canon." What women should achieve within the Church, she says, "cannot be done from the existing base of the Christian Bible."

Her "textual base" includes material from a wide variety of sources, including a picture of the Goddess Isis leading Queen Nefertiti by the hand (underneath is the caption, "Hand in hand, women guide each other as they claim their buried past and journey to the place of the death of patriarchy and the beginning of new possibilities for womanbeing"). Texts include a psalm addressed to the great Goddess of Babylonia, material relating to the Father/Mother God of Christian Science, and stories of courageous women in the nineteenth century.

To describe Mrs. Ruether's brand of feminist religion as semi-pagan is not to insult her ideas, but simply to describe them. In her own words, "Feminist spirituality today is reassessing pre-Christian religion. Does a pagan veneration of nature disclose a more ecological relation between humanity and nature? Do myths and cults of Goddesses provide alternative resources for women's identity?" The Christian—and certainly the Catholic—answer to these questions is clear enough. It is not Mrs. Ruether's; indeed, at one point we find her saying (in *Concilium*, a liberal Catholic jour-

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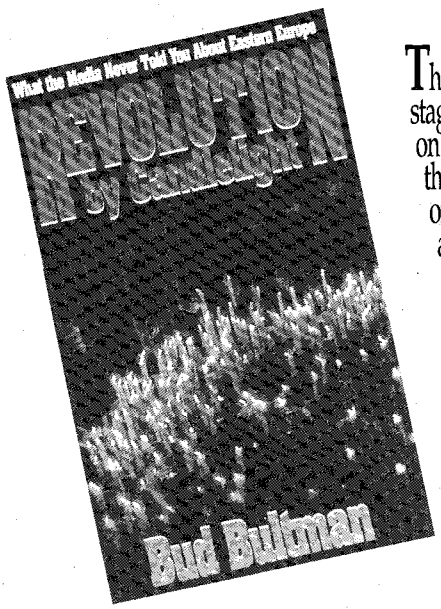

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nal) that though she has *some* reservations about feminist witchcraft, or Wicca, nevertheless "it is possible that we are witnessing in this movement the first stirrings of what may become a new stage of human religious consciousness." Here, as in other neo-pagan religions, the principal attraction for Mrs. Ruether is the worship of a Deity (her name for which is "God/ess") who is Mother rather than Father.

The fact is, however, that the overwhelming majority of Christian women are perfectly happy to worship God the Father, and have perceived without difficulty that feminist religious ideas are the most unmitigated drivel. Quite simply feminists do not speak for most women. Mrs. Ruether and her followers, however, have no intention of taking themselves off. In her own words, "we should use the institutional resources that have disempowered women to re-empower women." This infiltration of the "institutional resources" of the churches is now well under way; "Christian feminism" is a committed, well-organized, and highly effective movement, which will wreak great havoc in the lives of many vulnerable women (and men) before it is finally contained. Christians of all persuasions might with profit pray together in the words of the first Queen Elizabeth's archbishop, Thomas Cranmer:

> Give us grace, that, being not like children carried away with every blast of vain doctrine, we may be established in the truth of the Holy Gospel; through Jesus Christ our Lord. □

What Women Don't Want

THE GODDESS THAT FAILED

Like other ideologies, feminism asks not, What is right? but, What's in it for me?

KENNETH MINOGUE

RADICAL feminism comes from the same stable as Marxism: it is an ideology revealing the secret of the world. That secret is that our apparent freedom masks the fact that we are dominated by an oppressive system which invades every corner of our lives. The famous doctrine that the personal is the political is one formula expressing this secret. Once it has been revealed, there's only one thing to do: struggle against the evil system and liberate mankind.

Feminism tends to accept from Marxism an overarching understanding of capitalism as the basic form of oppression, but it has its own names for the evil system: "patriarchy" or "phallocentrism." Like Marxism feminism is prone to fragmenting into different understandings of the strategy by which the system is to be understood and destroyed. Feminists face, however, a serious problem from which Marxists are free. They are uncomfortably torn between the thesis that women are indistinguishable from men, and the very different thesis that women represent a sane and healthy value system, quite different from the brutalities of masculinity.

The spiritual dimension of feminism is something called "raising consciousness." This is the activity of learning the doctrine, meditating upon its implications, and applying it to every aspect of life. It also involves accumulating the materials of indignation, so that a constant and ruthless hatred may be directed against the system that feminists now realize is bent on seducing everybody into compliance. The fully raised consciousness discovers confirmations of the truth of the doctrine everywhere: such, of course, are the fruits of any spiritual enthusiasm. It also appeals to the vanity of believers, because the feminist finds herself living among sleepwalkers who do not realize what their real situation is. The distinction between elite and mass—so foreign to the realities of Anglo-Saxon life—is thus central to ideological belief.

All feminists (like all Marxists) are intellectuals in the sense that they understand the world in terms of theory, but many of them are inevitably, as the old joke goes, intellectuals without an intellect. The basic materials of the theory were put together by Marx, whose work is essentially a collection of devices for mobilizing proletariats and turning any set of circumstances into a theorized project. Ideologies basically mimic philosophy, and a few theorists are good enough to rise beyond the salvationist practicality of ideology and achieve the academic level from which the materials of belief had previously been derived. It is thus not quite a solecism to talk of "Marxist philosophy," and perhaps the same is true of some feminist thought.

Not of much, however, because ideologies are essentially practical. Even the most arcane realms of logic and metaphysics are judged in terms of what the believer imagines to be their bearing on the political struggle in the here and now. Nothing is more familiar in these circles than the pseudo-philosophical cry that there is no neutrality anywhere. As the old American trade-union song had it, "You can either be a union man or a thug for J. H. Blair." Feminists have had no difficulty in consigning the whole history of science and philosophy to the exile of oppressive patriarchal doctrine whose point is to exclude women.

What became unmistakable in the 1960s, however, was that ideologies are remarkable sets of abstract propositions lacking both the competence of practice and the reflectiveness of theory. An ideological movement is a collection of people many of whom could hardly bake a cake, fix a car, sustain a friendship or a marriage, or even do a quadratic equation, yet they believe they know how to rule the world. The university, in which it is possible to combine theoretical pretension with

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comprehensive ineptitude, has become the natural habitat of the ideological enthusiast. A kind of adventure playground, carefully insulated from reality in order to prevent absent-minded professors from bumping into things as they explore transcendental realms, has become the institutional base for civilizational self-hatred.

Feminists have, however, been so far protected from one major disaster which bids fair to destroy the plausibility of Marxists: they have never attained the total revolutionary power they seek in order to engineer society closer to their ideas. Just such power was acquired by Marxists in many of the less sophisticated parts of the world, and their governmental bungling has left whole populations impoverished, demoralized, slaughtered, and genuinely oppressed. This tragic tale is fitting commentary on the arrogance of ideologists, and in fact the best commentary on it is in Marx himself: the remark in the *Theses on Feuerbach* that all theoretical mysteries find their solution in practice. The solution here is one of the few certainties in social science: If your rulers start taking Marx seriously, run for your lives. Millions have done so, but survival is only to the swift.

Parasites of Modernity

THE COMPARISON with Marxism reveals the essence of the feminist movement. For like Marxism, feminism is parasitic on the development of modernity. By the end of the eighteenth century, modern European society was sketching out the possibilities for all of a kind of freedom and abundance not previously enjoyed even by kings. Marxism orchestrated a hopeful enthusiasm among those who had so far seen few of the promised benefits. On this ground, it could claim to be progressive, though it encouraged the kind of snatching at benefits which destroyed those very benefits. But Marxism had another side: it appealed also to the many who were demoralized rather than challenged by the opportunities opened up by the modern world. It promised these people a secure and changeless place in a future world, a world without risk or failure. In this sense, it was an attempt to put the clock back. The result was that societies, like the Russian, which fell for the Marxist sales talk and tried the revolutionary shortcut to the future ended up in desperate straits pleading for help from the liberal democracies of the West.

Feminism is a similar exploitation of the impatience of less able women who want to make a fast leap into a future of free and easy equality. How else might one explain the astonishing indifference among feminists to the skill, ability, and resourcefulness on which the success of the Western mainstream has been based? How else to explain the lunatic demand that an amendment to the Constitution should immediately give women 50 per cent of all elective offices? All that matters to these simple people is that they want it, *now*, and all problems are theorized away as prejudice, stereotyping, and the resistance of the "malestream."

Yet, as with Marxism, there is a curious backward-looking element in feminism which bids fair to be as destructive of the opportunities of Western women as Marxism has been of the countries it dominated. A good example of this tendency is the campaign to turn women against men on the grounds that they are all rapists. No one doubts that some men are rapists, but this in no way establishes that all men are. A dim sense of unease with this logical point is part of the reason why the concepts of rape and of sexual harassment are constantly being stretched by feminists,

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so that it now appears possible for a woman to have been raped without even realizing that it has happened.

A raised consciousness in this area plays with propositions of the form "X per cent of women have experienced sexual interference before the age of Y," where X is a very large number, and Y as low as you care to make it, and "sexual interference" defined so broadly that it can include hearing an older sibling discuss his/her adolescent sexual experimentation. Statistics of this kind are known in the trade as "advocacy numbers." The person in the street, with his notorious lack of delicacy, calls them "lies." The point is that the feminist, who in her hatred of patriarchy *starts* from this basic proposition, feels justified in choosing to entertain any fiction at all which will dramatize true consciousness.

It is along these lines that we discover an important but little-noticed convergence between radical feminism and Islamic fundamentalism. By campaigning against the thing called "date rape," the feminist creates immense hatred and suspicion between men and women, so that the feminist advice to any woman going out on a date is to establish a virtual contract governing what will happen in the course of an evening. This is to destroy the free and easy relations between men and women which have long characterized the Western world—and only the Western world. It parallels the fundamentalist campaign to restore the old ways in the Islamic world. "It is a well known fact," as a Jordanian member of parliament recently remarked, "that putting men and women in the same room is like mixing benzine and fire."

Back to the Harem

FEMINISTS, in other words, are well on the way to reinventing the harem—special quarters in which women traditionally lived entirely separate lives untainted by the lusts of men. As with Marxism, the way forward turns out to be the way back. But anyone contemplating this remarkable situation is likely to have a further thought. Political doctrines always invite the question: *Cui bono?* Who is it, one might ask, that would benefit from dormitories filled with attractive young women who have been worked up into a state of hysterical mistrust of men? One of the most influential fragments of feminism has been its lesbian wing.

There are good reasons for thinking that late-twentieth-century feminism, now a generation old, has reached something like its apogee. One reason is that it has been able to ally itself with all the other ideological "minorities" which have succeeded in playing upon the guilts of the American mainstream and extracting a variety of collective privileges. American males of this generation seem to be polarized between a Rambo-like fantasy life and a remarkable wimpishness when charged with the supposed crimes of their ancestors or even themselves. Like everything else in American life, this disposition is unlikely to last. The minorities will themselves fall into conflict over scarce goods, and collectivist privilege (which clashes in any case with the basic individualism of American life) will begin to dissolve.

An even more important vulnerability of radical feminism is the fact that it is based upon an illusion. It imagines that everything it demands corresponds to the establishment of justice. But in a modern society, justice is simply the gloss that special interests paint over their demands. Justice, in this wildly extended sense, is a matter of fashion and taste. It is within living memory that many people (including women) waxed indignant over giving equal pay to spinster schoolteachers on the ground that they would spend it on cosmetics and foreign travel, while men were supporting a family. Such judgments change all the time. Many simple people, after all, used to believe devoutly that socialism was the unchallengeable wave of the future. Lost in a dream of absoluteness, feminists are ill equipped to face the inevitable somersaults of modern moral pluralism.

The most important vulnerability of the feminist project, however, lies in its evident bad faith in relation to its environment. Whatever complaints women may have in modern societies, they are as dust beneath the feet of women in all other societies. Yet every feminist success is greeted with a redoubling of complaint-mongering and tooth-gnashing at the horrors of patriarchy. This is a tiresome form of behavior which will in time wear out its welcome. Camille Paglia's charge that feminism is an "adolescent whine" is a salutary recalling to evident reality of believers lost to all sense of outside opinion.

Rewriting the Rules

NOT SO LOST, however, as to have rejected the benefits of what they most violently attack. The basic fact about feminism is that it is financed by the "malestream" and that its respectability results from exploiting the ranks and respectabilities of supposedly male-oriented universities. Feminists have got to be professors on the ground that they can do academic work just as well as men. But having been admitted to the game of academic life, many feminists have decided that it is "masculinist" and patriarchal, and that there is a superior feminist understanding of the world which ought to replace masculinist science and philosophy. They thus resemble those tiresome children who demand to play adult games but, on being admitted, find that they can't play, or won't play, and demand that everybody else accept a new set of rules more congenial to them.

False consciousness generates contradictions. Living amid fantasies, feminists on the one hand demand that female Marines should be given a combat role just like the men, and on the other hand thrill to the alleged sufferings of Anita Hill distressed over some pornographic remarks. What do they want? To be clinging vines, or out there in the desert beside Rambo zapping America's foes? The men were understandably muttering: "If you can't take the heat, get back to the kitchen." Logically, American feminism is a mess—but who cares?—as long as the men knuckle under and the benefits keep rolling in.

The future of radical feminism in America is tied to the fate of all the soft, non-revolutionary ideological enthusiasms which are currently trying to march through the institutions. It seems likely that Americans will soon tire of the grievance-mongering which plays upon their guilts. It is difficult to think that a movement which replaces the fun and poetry of life with mediocre theorizing—which turns *Romeo and Juliet* into a disquisition on the oppressive character of heterosexism—will long dominate even the academic world on which it has so successfully battened in recent times. □

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JOSEPH SOBRAN

THOMAS Byrne Edsall and his wife Mary D. Edsall have written a thoughtful book about how race and taxes have realigned American politics. *Chain Reaction* has already been widely discussed since a long excerpt appeared in *The Atlantic*, and even liberal reviewers have welcomed its reproach to liberal intolerance.

As the Edsalls see it, the Republicans have been able to capitalize on the Democrats' commitment to helping the black and the poor largely because liberals have a) refused to face frankly the costs of these policies and b) imposed a taboo against frank discussion by anyone else. As a result, conservatives have learned to talk about race and taxes in "coded language" and, politically, have picked up the pieces.

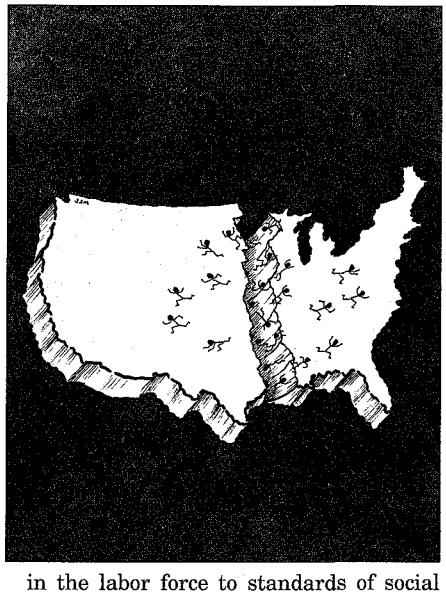
Since the New Deal, the Democrats have forged a "bottom-up" coalition that united the interests of the poor and the middle classes. But since the Great Society, the Republicans have fashioned their own "top-down" coalition, pitting the rich and the middle classes against the poor. The racial isolation of the bottom made this realignment easier and more natural.

Chain Reaction, by Thomas Byrne Edsall & Mary D. Edsall (Norton, 339 pp., $22.95)

But the "chain reaction" resulted from more than this basic fact: the Democrats also committed themselves to the "rights revolution, a revolution demanding statutory and constitutional protections for, among others, criminal defendants, women, the poor, non-European ethnic minorities, students, homosexuals, prisoners, the handicapped, and the mentally ill." Furthermore, all these categories demanded representation *within* the Democratic Party.

The "progressive" forces tried to reinforce their position by creating taboos on discussion they could not enforce over the long run. The Edsalls observe:

> This stigmatization as "racist" or as "in bad faith" of open discussion of value-charged matters—ranging from crime to sexual responsibility to welfare dependency to drug abuse to non-participation in the labor force to standards of social obligation—has for more than two decades created a *values barrier* between Democratic liberals and much of the electorate at large.



John Michaud

Republicans hardly had to debate at all. They merely had to indicate that they weren't quite as crazy about "civil rights," or whatever, as the Democrats were, and they won by default. Liberals were so busy stigmatizing everyone else that they failed to notice that the liberal label itself was becoming the most crippling stigma in American politics, as one former Klansman seems to have noticed.

It was a former segregationist, George Wallace, who, as the Edsalls point out, invented the strategy of "creating the specter of a coercive Democratic liberal establishment—a powerful, centralized, bureaucratic, and unresponsive government imposing its regulatory will and its tax collectors on a hard-pressed electorate"—that Ronald Reagan adopted in 1980. At least rhetorically, the voters' anger was directed not against blacks but against white liberals.

And, in fact, white liberals, exercising power with invincible moral arrogance, enraged white voters far more than blacks did. Liberals still rail against the 1988 Bush campaign's appeal to "racism" via the notorious Willie Horton ad (which wasn't even a Bush ad). But whites weren't especially mad at Willie Horton; they were mad at the sort of people who would turn him loose. The Edsalls quote Michael Dukakis's secretary of human services, Philip Johnston, who offered reporters what he evidently thought of as a pointed reminder: "Don't forget that Mr. Horton had nine previous successful furloughs." Well, Mr. Horton's nine previous successful furloughs didn't go very far toward redeeming Mr. Dukakis in the eyes of the voters. You have to be a liberal, I guess, not to understand that.

The Edsalls differ from most liberals in having a certain empathy with those of us who would just as soon Mr. Horton didn't unexpectedly drop in for the weekend. But they still suppose that most voters could be rationally persuaded of the justice and wisdom of liberal policies without resort to hard-sell tactics. In my judgment, however, those tactics are essential to liberalism's success. From Goldwater to Bork and Thomas, liberals have much preferred stigmatizing their opponents to arguing with them. And I assume they have good reason for this.

Under the circumstances, it's hard to blame Republicans for using "coded language." If liberals have placed taboos on sensitive subjects, they can't complain when their opponents resort to euphemisms.

The charge of "coded language" is even a little naïve. We can't always agree on what the "natural" terminology would be; the very nouns we use depend as much on our conceptual framework as on the actual things referred to. And what's "coded" about

Mr. Sobran, NR's Critic-at-Large, writes a twice-a-week column for Universal Press Syndicate.

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terms like "taxes" and "big government"? Do the Edsalls mean to imply that people don't really mind taxes and big government, but only use these as surrogates for something else that they *do* mind?

From a non-liberal standpoint, terms like "compassion" and "social justice" sound like code-words for the state coercion these terms seek to legitimate, and "equality" has come to mean very *un*equal treatment at the hands of that "coercive Democratic liberal establishment," which is no mere "specter" to those who are forced to pay the bills while receiving no benefits themselves. The Edsalls divide the populace into "haves" and "have-nots," when some might think it more pertinent to speak of "earns" and "earn-nots." And to call tax cuts a "redistribution" of wealth (from the bottom to the top), as the Edsalls do, is to beg the whole question of whose money it is in the first place.

Race may well define the great political fault-line, as the Edsalls say. But if so, this is because liberalism has turned "civil rights" into a code-phrase for racial favoritism. If "civil rights" really meant civil rights, then every increase in "civil rights" would benefit everyone, whites included, and it would be nonsense to speak of whites as bearing the "costs" of civil rights. The obvious truth is that every new civil-rights measure gives the state more power over individuals and private institutions, and is thus a diminution of freedom, even though some people enjoy material gain from it.

What the Edsalls don't fully appreciate is that liberal civil rights are redistributive rather than libertarian in character, and redistribution generally means giving the state the power to hurt some in order to help others. The radical redefinition of civil rights has come about because liberals and Democrats themselves have racialized the term, contrary to the wishes and the original understanding of most citizens. And the same liberals and Democrats censure as racist our very resistance to this racialization. In short, it was liberals, not conservatives, who created the racial fault line in American politics.

The last thing liberals can tolerate now is a black who insists on the old individualist, color-blind, and nonredistributive understanding of civil rights. Hence their fury at Clarence Thomas, who threatened to *erase* their indispensable racial fault line. And they weren't interested in refuting his position rationally and civilly. They needed to stigmatize him by any means necessary.

The Edsalls are to be commended for urging liberals to learn some elementary manners. But for all the insight of their analysis, they have missed the essential point. The liberal establishment has lost the argument, and can only maintain its power by such foul means as it used, unsuccessfully, to block Thomas. □

Report from the Trenches

DOUG BANDOW

ALTHOUGH America has always been a tolerant place compared to most European countries, it has not been free of social conflict. "Protestant hostility toward Catholicism (and, to a far lesser extent, Catholic resentment of Protestantism) provides one of the dominant motifs of early modern American history," writes University of Virginia sociologist James Davison Hunter. Seemingly abstract theological differences spilled over into politics, education, and virtually every other aspect of public life.

Enmity among denominations has waned, but cultural conflict continues between worldviews—the orthodox and the progressive, to use Hunter's categories. The former are committed to "external, definable, and transcendent authority." The latter translate historic beliefs "according to the prevailing assumptions of contemporary life."

Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America, by James Davison Hunter (Basic Books, 400 pp., $25)

Mr. Bandow is a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute and the author of Beyond Good Intentions: A Biblical View of Politics.

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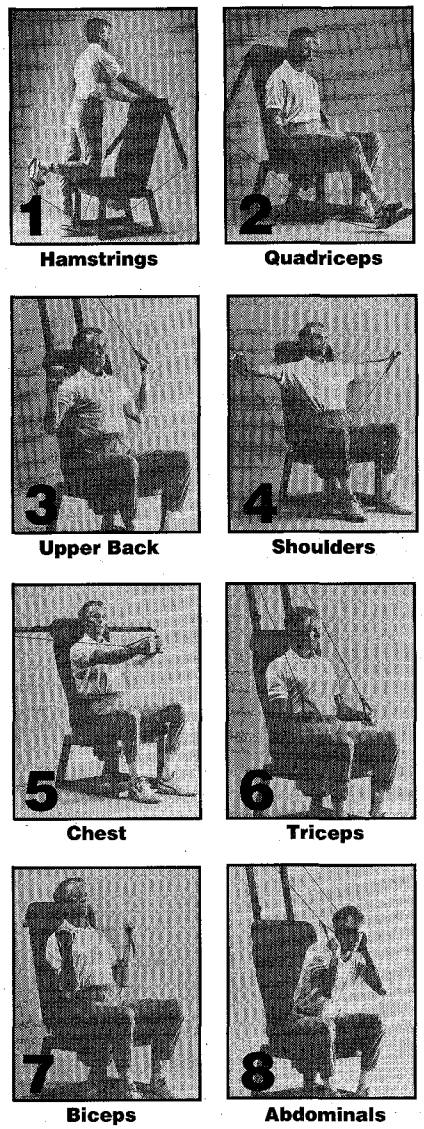

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Hunter illustrates the humaness of the conflict with opening vignettes of grassroots activists. Supporting orthodox values are a Presbyterian pastor who worked against passage of a domestic-partners bill in San Francisco, a Jewish participant in Operation Rescue in New York, and the Catholic founder of a group advocating tuition vouchers. Opposed are a gay Catholic activist who backed the San Francisco legislation, an Episcopalian pro-abortion activist, and a nonreligious Missouri politician.

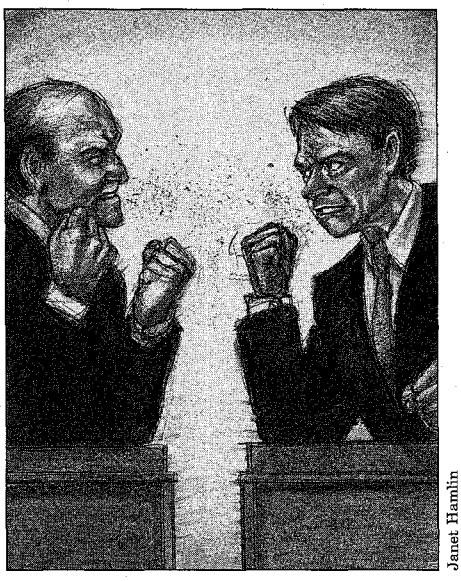
The fight over American culture has been intensified by recent social changes, particularly in the 1960s, which, says Hunter, "contributed to the undermining of previous agreements about how Americans should order our lives together. The present culture war has evolved in this context as a struggle to establish new agreements over the character and content of American public culture."

There is little room for compromise. One of Hunter's most insightful observations is that the struggle for cultural hegemony is "religious." Although most of the issues are not formally theological, as was the Reformation in Europe, for instance, the "public discourse over the various issues of the culture war is almost always framed in rhetoric that is absolute, comprehensive, and ultimate."

Moreover, the gulf between the two sides seems unbridgeable. "At the center of each are two distinct conceptions of moral authority—two different ways of apprehending reality . . . of making moral judgments," writes Hunter. Prayer in school, for instance, cannot be resolved by splitting the difference or legislative log-rolling.

Worsening public polarization is what Hunter calls the "technology of public discourse." Sixty-second television spots distort political debate; direct mail requires extravagant attacks on any enemy to raise money. Although moderate voices exist, in Hunter's view they are less likely to be raised or heard. "In the end, much of public discourse is reduced to a reciprocal bellicosity."

The culture war is important because it involves virtually every aspect of people's lives. The family, for instance, is an important source of conflict. At stake are not just the family's ancillary activities, but its core attributes: "The nineteenth-century consensus about the character and structure of family life has collapsed." The struggle over education is similarly bitter. Who should run the schools? What should be taught in the schools?



Janet Hamlin

Hunter also explores the impact of the culture war on electoral politics. The Carter–Reagan contest, for instance, highlighted bitter disagreements over abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and family policy. The religious Right became particularly controversial in 1984. Four years later cultural issues—Willie Horton and crime, the Pledge of Allegiance and flag waving, and so on—helped deliver the election to Bush. In these struggles formal religious lines no longer matter much, as Catholics, Jews, and Protestants split over individual issues; instead, the alliances form along traditional and modernist lines.

That the "orthodox" presidential candidate has triumphed throughout the 1980s does not, however, mean that the forces of orthodoxy are bound to win. Hunter points out that "the institutional resources and power behind the progressive vision is at least as strong and probably much stronger than those favoring the orthodox." Moreover, by its very nature the state, he contends, is a progressive ally.

Finally, a perhaps even greater threat to orthodoxy is the accommodationist temptation. Hunter, who authored an earlier study that found the political and social attitudes of young evangelicals to vary little from those of their secular counterparts, observes that "orthodox communities may become so assimilated to a progressive political (and linguistic) culture that they will not be capable of offering any effective opposition to the world view that currently plagues them." In the end, Hunter hopes for renewed civic tolerance, "a new *unum* wherein public virtue and public civility can be revitalized." No consensus on opinions can be expected, but he hopes for a new agreement as to how opinions should be expressed. Hunter's support for reasoned discourse between radically opposing forces will probably satisfy neither side. Indeed, he has been criticized for appearing to be neutral in the culture war. But neither the orthodox nor progressives will persuade the majority of Americans in the middle if no one is listening. The first step in reducing social conflict is to improve the quality of public debate. □

The Way We Were

JEFFREY HART

WE CONFRONT an amusing paradox. The fact of the matter is that Western ideas are sweeping the globe. Representative government, a Western idea, is sought from Tiananmen Square to Moscow. Thomas Jefferson's self-evident ideas are becoming self-evident virtually everywhere.

Even Western science and technology have become global. If you want to build a nuclear device, you have to consult Einstein, Fermi, Bohr, and their crowd. There is no distinctively Chinese or African physics or mathematics. The very idea of universal truth is a Western idea, fought out and pushed into shape by the Greek philosophers and the reflective tradition of Jerusalem. It received its political foundation first in Greece and then in Rome, which made citizens of tribe after tribe, and gave them Roman law, language, roads, aqueducts, etc.

Yet while all of this is going on we now have a silly anti-Western move-

Mr. Hart is a professor of English at Dartmouth College and an NR *Senior Editor.*

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ment in the academy, referred to as multiculturalism or Afrocentrism. This movement aims to reverse the march of the human mind and render truth once again tribal.

Thus the importance of these two books. They complement each other, and tell once again the great story of the emergence of the Western mind in the ancient world.

The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas That Have Shaped Our World View, by Richard Tarnas (Harmony/Crown, 543 pp., $25)

The Founders of the Western World: A History of Greece and Rome, by Michael Grant (Scribners, 352 pp., $27)

Richard Tarnas possesses a fascinating lucidity, and in *The Passion of the Western Mind* moves with ease among complex matters without sacrificing a bit of their complexity. Michael Grant, whose *The Founders of the Western World* is the most recent of his many books on antiquity, elegantly synthesizes familiar material while introducing recent scholarship in the field. He begins with archaic Greece and the spread of its culture throughout the eastern Mediterranean, takes us through the Persian wars, the resulting dominance of Athens, and the classical phase of Greek culture. Grant then covers Alexander's conquests and the spread of Hellenism. The concise narrative then moves to the story of Rome, from the Etruscans and through republic, empire, and finally decline.

The distinctive character of the Western mind arose, both books agree, out of the interaction of Athens and Jerusalem. The tension between them was creative, and not exactly reducible to a tension between reason and revelation. The cultural fusion occurred in the period beginning about 800 B.C. when both the Homeric poems and the Mosaic books were set down, no doubt deriving from earlier material. It comprehended what Karl Jaspers has called the Axial Age, which changed the world forever.

Both the Homeric and the Mosaic narratives represent the Heroic phase of the two cultures. In the Greek *paideia* schoolboys commented on the heroic qualities of such figures as Achilles and Odysseus, and sought to shape a like heroism in their own lives. The formulation in Aristotle's *Ethics* of the ideal of magnanimous man is really a full exposition of Homeric ideals as analyzed by Socrates and Plato. Not far away, in ancient Israel, we hear of a similar heroic culture. King David, for example, was a great flawed warrior, like Achilles, as well as the profound poet of the Psalms.

But in a startling development, Athens and Jerusalem internalized the Heroic, and made it explicitly a discipline of the soul.

What comes to the fore in the pre-Socratics is the doctrine of the *Logos*. To Heraclitus, for example, the *Logos* was the invisible pattern or order that governs the transactions of the *Kosmos*. The pursuit of this principle of cosmic order illuminates the symmetrics of Greek architecture, poetry, and art, as well as philosophy. Pythagoras had a mathematical theory of music. Above the door of Plato's Academy an inscription warned away anyone ignorant of geometry.

Socrates in his teaching developed much further than Heraclitus the doctrine of the *Logos*. He was anything but a skeptic, though he sought to destroy the habitual assumptions of Athens. Unspoken and unspeakable at the center of his thought were the Ideas, which together made up the entire *Logos*: the ideas of Beauty, of Truth, of Goodness, and so forth. Behind all change and decay he saw a pattern of gleaming ideas. It is recorded in the *Symposium* that Socrates, before he fought in the battle of Potideia, stood in a sort of trance all day and all night—perhaps intuiting the *Logos*. To see a comparison with Jesus is inescapable. In Matthew 17, Jesus has a recognizably similar experience.

The Mediterranean world was awash in Hellenistic thought. In the missionary work of St. Paul, we see the Biblical and the Hellenic come together. Paul was Jewish, a citizen of Rome, and deeply Hellenistic.

Neither Jesus nor Socrates published a single word, and, our two greatest teachers could not have been tenured in a modern university. Perhaps their focus on the perfection of the inner self was too intense to allow for external activity such as writing.

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They did not publish, and they indeed both perished, but did achieve tenure of a sort.

Meeting them again in these two books, one finds the large patterns fascinating, but the material is so rich that there also exist continuous local discoveries. For example, we can glimpse the mentality of Jesus—imagine that!—and can sense His immersion in the Biblical tradition, through thinking about the cry from the Cross-confirming His humanity. (But notice that Jesus was at that painful moment quoting the first line of Psalm 22, composed by David, His royal ancestor.)

Likewise, the comparision also emerges in these volumes between Plato and Paul. Plato had absorbed Socrates' philosophical intuitions, and Paul had internalized the example of Jesus, notably on the road to Damascus. Both Plato and Paul fully articulated the internalization of the Heroic. Aristotle and St. Augustine systematized the primary teachings. Aristotle studied for twenty years at Plato's Academy, and worked out his own more empirical formulation of the doctrine of *Logos*.

The principle of universal order reverberates down through Western culture. It is put to stern test by the ancient writers of tragedy and history, and by Job. The Greek *Logos* explicitly enters the Biblical tradition in the first chapter of John. Jesus completes the design: "and the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." The doctrine of the *Logos* was fought in ancient Greece, and has been fought against as well in Western thought by figures as disparate as Voltaire, Falstaff, and Sancho Panza, who have their own truth.

The debate of my dreams would put Democritus, the atomist/materialist, up against Socrates and his *Logos*. The tendency of Western thought over the ages has been to side with Socrates. As André Malraux observes somewhere, the appearance of the smile in archaic sculpture reflects the dawning awareness of the soul, the comedy of mere flesh and change.

Richard Tarnas and Michael Grant give us perhaps the closest thing we can hope for to that debate. They remind us of where we have been and who we inescapably are—and, for that matter, where the entire world is now going. □

Shark!

GEOFFREY MORRIS

IMAGINE a journalist in 1961 saying: "President Kennedy, have you ever, uh, committed adultery?" The daunted gasp at such questions has faded over thirty years.

Up through the Presidencies of Kennedy and Johnson, what happened west of the Potomac did not leave the poker-table talk of the men who reported from Washington. One story, told by Robert Novak in Larry Sabato's *Feeding Frenzy*, reveals the confidence JFK had in the press's tolerance of his brazenness. Jackie stayed in Hyannisport, recalls Novak, while her busy husband met with Adlai Stevenson, then UN ambassador, at New York's Carlyle Hotel. After a few minutes Stevenson departed, leaving JFK with "a famous actress." Many journalists saw the whole episode, Novak adds, but nobody reported it.

Somewhere between the Carlyle and the Watergate things have changed. Ben Bradlee went from being JFK's housepet to vigilant Watergate watchdog, and finally father of adversarial journalism. The press today, writes Sabato, "prefers to employ titillation rather than scrutiny; as a result, its political coverage produces trivialization rather than enlightenment." Journalists today have become over vigilant whereas before they had been heedless co-conspirators.

Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics, by Suzanne Garment (Times Books, 335 pp., $23)

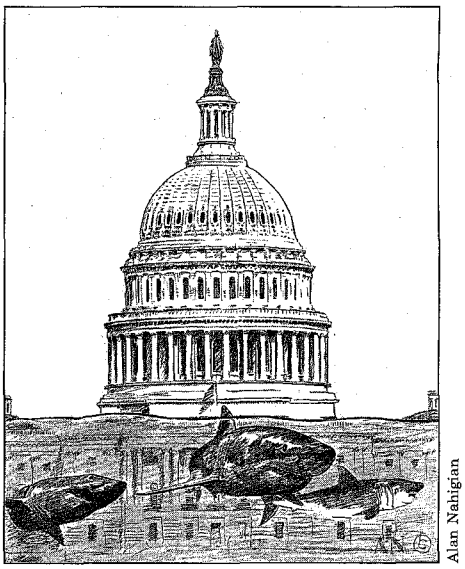
Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American Politics, Larry J. Sabato (Free Press, 306 pp., $22.95)

Mr. Morris is NR*'s Executive Editor.*

Reporting of misdoings is the endgame for today's media. The smallest suspicion of wrongdoing becomes the seed of scandal—a scandal which then feeds on itself. Rumors become allegations, and allegations make front-page stories. Old charges are recounted until new ones emerge. Soon "questions have been raised," a "cloud" hangs over a candidate or nominee, followed by calls for resignations, investigations, and all the rest.

Sabato's book is diligently researched but lacks focus. It's a storehouse for story upon story of published and unpublished indiscretions of public figures.

A more thorough and orderly appraisal of comtemporary politics and journalism is *Scandal*, in which Suzanne Garment argues that a new mentality has formed in Washington's culture. "Our system is now able," she writes, "to produce scandals at will, in steady and unending supply." And she warns that the continuing frenzy mentality will hinder the efficacy of government by handcuffing those in office and by preventing others from joining in. When, for example:



Alan Nahigian

> procurement officials evaluate a contractor's proposal as part of competitive bidding on a purchase, regulations make it almost impossible for them to take into account what they know about how well the contractor did on previous jobs . . . The prohibition follows a distinct logic. If we permit procurement officials to make subject judgments like that one . . . they will be able to use their discretion to indulge in corrupt favoritism. Therefore we must remove this discretion.

Following this logic, government's prosecutorial powers have been

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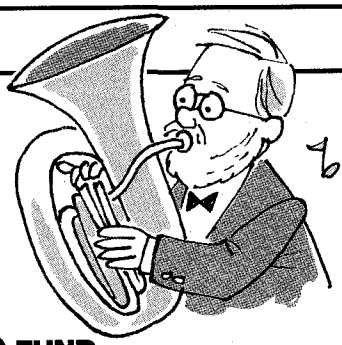
greatly increased. Congress enacted new ethics codes, financial-disclosure requirements, and other restrictions. As an example of how much of a hindrance new laws have posed, consider this. Dwight Ink, who served various positions in the Nixon Administration and who now serves in the Agency for International Development, estimates that he spends between 30 and 40 per cent of his time conforming to the rules and procedures designed to prevent and deal with corruption. And in 1989 the House ethics committee was considering four different cases of alleged sexual misconduct by congressman. With such rules, young JFK could never have left the House.

The growing number of ethics rules has forced individuals not only to watch themselves, but to watch their colleagues as well. Under today's prosecutorial eye, "it is far less dangerous to attack the alleged wrongdoer than to defend him," Mrs. Garment contends. Politics at its cleanest requires building coalitions, which in turn necessitates a certain amount of backscratching. But that's different now. Old-style politics—loyalty to leaders, parties, and political colleagues—is on its way out.

The lingo of new-style politics includes names and events associated with scandals: Watergate, Iran–Contra, Richard V. Allen, Edwin Meese, Geraldine Ferraro, and poor old Raymond Donovan. However, these names represent not just the wrongdoing of individuals involved but rather the focus of our political culture.

And what is overlooked in the search for intrigue is the corruption that is government today: the growing power of Congress, the exponentially expanding bureaucracy feeding on the rewards of its own failures, and true institutional malpractice such as the savings-and-loan chow bag. Rather than urging congressional reform or reporting *institutional* corruption, individual lives are exploited and destroyed in public stockades.

Taking center stage is the confirmation hearing as smear campaign. For example, there's Richard Armitage, who in 1989 was forced to withdraw his name as nominee to be Secretary of the Army. A few years earlier, Armitage had written a letter on Defense Department stationery to a judge presiding over a case of a Vietnamese woman who was running a



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NIKA HAZELTON
DELECTATIONS

One of the things I enjoyed most at Christmas this year was a simply wonderful fruitcake, made by Trappist monks in Virginia. The greed got the better of me, and I kept stealing back to the cake to sink my teeth into that absolutely heavenly mixture of glace fruit and nuts, with everything soused in brandy (and very good brandy too) . . .

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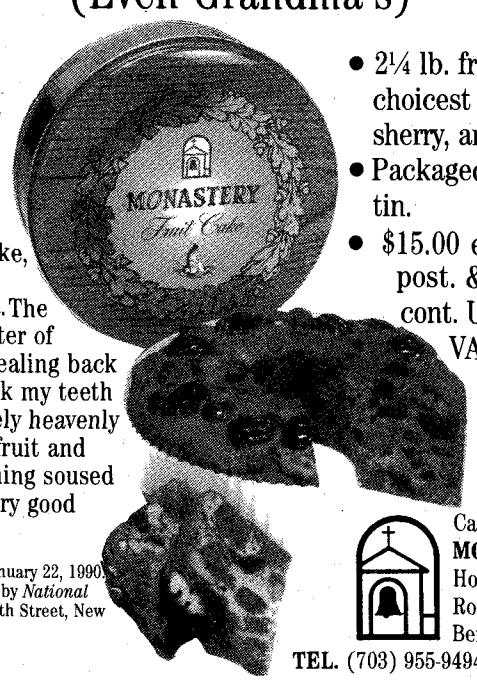

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football pool in her Washington restaurant. Armitage knew the woman from Saigon, vouched for her character, and explained to the judge that such betting was accepted practice in her country. Jack Anderson caught wind of it and made the matter public.

Mrs. Garment explains: "unfriendly senators would start by asking hostile policy questions. Then some senator would raise Jack Anderson's charges and question Armitage's personal morality. By the time the hearing got around to the drug-running story, even this accusation might look plausible."

Suzanne Garment finds horrifying consequences as a result of the growing media and political voracity. The trial by ordeal of Clarence Thomas supports the cause for her concern. Journalists become nihilists—but with an appetite for destruction—and to them leaders are little more than prospective scandals. The rest of us may for a moment be enthralled by the spectacle, but soon become disheartened. "The press stops helping people to be good citizens," Mrs. Garment argues. "And when it no longer performs this function it loses the foundation of its own legitimacy."

The press has also lost its sense of proportion. It has gone beyond attempting to hold government accountable, and instead has blurred the line between public and private lives in its attempts to flush out impurities.

Not that public lives should remain free of scrutiny. There can be a middle ground between the leniency afforded JFK and the trouncing leveled on Teddy. It's one thing to report on one's flagrant public indiscretions, and quite another to capitalize on them—over and over again.

There is more to being the keeper of the moral gate than simply releasing the hounds to tear apart the offender. A show of restraint all around is in order. Alas, restraint has always been self-imposed and now civilization's barrier between what was acceptable and not has been removed. *Scandal* is at least a way to slow the madding crowd's trampling of the barriers. □

Old Boys

BRAD LINAWEAVER

THE painfully modest man who was Eric Blair led a life as interesting as the work he did under the pseudonym of George Orwell. The latest study of this enigmatic figure is *Orwell: a Biography*, by Michael Shelden, a professor of English at Indiana State University. Shelden has produced a far livelier account than Bernard Crick's ground-breaking biography. Although more information is available to Shelden, he does not turn his book into a dry catalogue of events. Rather he shows how Blair used the details of his life in powerful and subtle ways to turn political writing into art. One can only imagine that the subject of this study would approve the method, even while being uncomfortable about the abolition of privacy.

As a student at St. Cyprian's, young Eric Blair particularly disliked how history was reduced to a recitation of names and dates, ripped out of any context that might provide a point of view or appeal to the conscience. Blair created "Orwell" to express ideas. But the fact of human suffering was so real to him—expressed starkly in fiction and non-fiction alike—that his work contained an emotional power always just beneath the surface of his British reserve.

Orwell: A Biography, by Michael Shelden (HarperCollins, 400 pp., $30)

Shelden takes us through the stages of Orwell's life, each marked by violent likes and dislikes. He was a curiously proper rebel, educated in the Old Boy virtues of not letting the side down. His bad feelings about preparatory school and his later service as a policeman in the Indian Imperial Police never prevented him from doing his duty. But when he walked away from something, his repudiation was final.

This resolute quality left his father dumbfounded as young Orwell resigned from a job that paid better than his own position in the Opium Department. The same values stood Orwell in good stead when he explored poverty and squalor firsthand in London and Paris, gaining in that effort his early reputation as a journalist. His courage took him into the Spanish Civil War (where he was shot in the throat), and was even more in evidence when he fought his lonely battle to tell the truth about how the Communists had betrayed the anarchists and everyone else. No one but a brave man could become the most famous left-wing opponent of Communism, or as he put it himself, he had "a power of facing unpleasant facts."

The best thing about this new biography is how the reader is made to feel each transitory pleasure Orwell would allow himself; each small victory against persistent self-criticism. Nor does Shelden shy away from the evidence that Orwell was as hard on others as he was on himself. Here was a man who couldn't stand bullies but had learned from his days serving the empire how easily one could slip into that role. As Shelden observes concerning the background of *Burmese Days*, "It is also interesting to note that the author of *1984* was once in charge of an extensive surveillance operation."

It was during the war that he wrote *Animal Farm*, a difficult book to sell at the height of Stalin worship. Afterward, he used his experiences broadcasting propaganda to India as the basis of Winston Smith's job in *1984*. If he hadn't been a man who knew about letting down the side, his criticisms of the modern state and dirty politics would have lacked the conviction he brought to them.

Orwell often reads like a novel itself. When disappointing his father, or some other authority figure, Blair feels almost apologetic. When describing Mrs. Wilkes who ran St. Cyprian's, he wrote, "At the first smile one's hatred turned into a sort of cringing love." At least he had a better time of it at Eton where he enjoyed its "medieval chaos." But his earliest school experiences lie heavily over his later work as he warns against, rather than predicts, what comes of final betrayals of the soul: "He loved Big Brother."

Eric Blair never completely put away the Old Boy's silk school tie. He was a better social critic in areas where he had kept faith with the past.

Mr. Linaweaver reviews books for the Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

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Shelden especially likes a statement from Orwell that compares favorably with Voltaire: "If liberty means anything at all it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear." At his most subversive, there was something about Orwell that commanded respect from the establishment. At the same time he could not help but run afoul of left-wing sectarianism. He described himself, half jokingly, as a "Tory anarchist"—but he might just as well have said that he was a man who sticks to his principles. A difficult man, yes. An emotionally repressed man if we are to believe the standard fare about his personal life. The ideal subject for a biography.

One of the best parts of this biography is the story of how Victor Gollancz, Orwell's publisher at the Left Book Club, cost himself the opportunity of publishing *Animal Farm* and *1984*, two of the great best sellers of the century. This was the same individual who, from the safety of England, lectured Orwell on the correct way to fight fascism while Orwell "was in a muddy trench on a remote hilltop in Spain dodging sniper fire from a fascist army." Well, one has to grant Gollancz the credit of avoiding "thought crime," and remaining politically correct. Besides, the purity of his ideology wasn't corrupted by all the money he would have made if he'd remained Orwell's publisher.

Whether writing novels or journalism, science fiction or allegory, Orwell's work strikes the heart. Too modest to write autobiography, we meet the man through what he tells us about ourselves; and we see in his life the truth of Fitzgerald's definition of personality as "an unbroken series of successful gestures." Professor Shelden has a gift for selecting all the right quotations, including one which perhaps provides the best reason for reading Orwell: "Unfortunately I had not trained myself to be indifferent to the expression of the human face." □

SOUND ON DISC

Haydn's Orderly Chaos

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

HAYDN was 67 when he completed *The Creation*, an oratorio on which he had worked for three years. This depiction of the six days in which God fashioned the universe is remarkable for its youthful freshness and energy, yet one marked by the subtleties and perceptions of a mature and experienced genius.

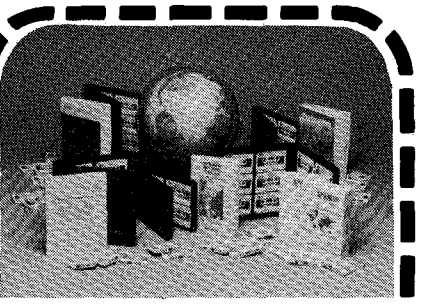
In this score, Haydn was writing some of his greatest music and demonstrating the depth and complexity of his concepts. Though a Wagnerian, the composer Hugo Wolf in a rhapsodic 1885 review was caught up in the subtleties of Haydn's evocation, remarking that the composer was translating "through his musical feeling not the face but the impression of the face" of God's handiwork.

Haydn understood that Chaos, the chaos from which God extracted order, was not confusion. A Romantic or post-Romantic composer would have given us clashing dissonances and crashing instrumentation in the opening passages—"the moans and groans" of a "wild animal suffering toothache," again to quote Wolf. Instead Haydn expresses Chaos by a series of chordal progressions which are never resolved and never come to rest—the essence of Chaos.

This is accentuated in Simon Rattle's cleanly delineated and fine reading of the score. He directs the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, which he has been steadily moving toward the front ranks of symphonic groups. Soloists Arleen Auger (soprano), Philip Langridge (tenor), and David Thomas (bass) range in that order from excellent to adequate. Haydn's text is properly in English, though the later German translation is often mistaken for the original.

It is a long leap from "Papa" Haydn to the Claude Debussy who once remarked that he hoped to create orchestrally an equivalent in music of the *grisaille*, the many-shaded, all-grey painting of the Impressionists. He was successful in instrumental writing,

Mr. Toledano, a longtime NR *contributor, is a syndicated columnist and author of 19 books. He is currently at work on his autobiography.*



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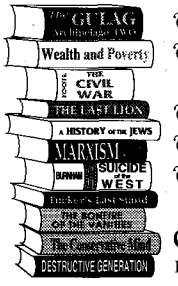

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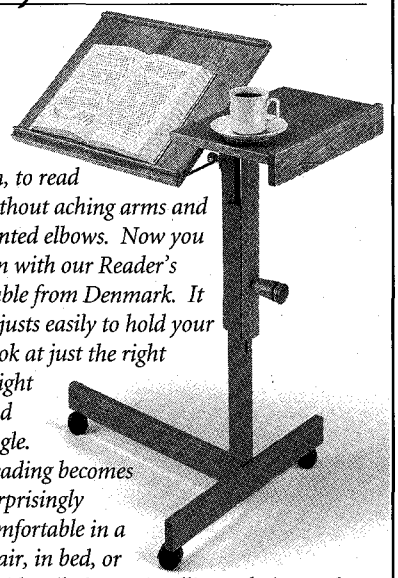

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but as an operatic method, it raises questions. Puccini, though very often a bad critic, could write with some truth that Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* had "extraordinary harmonic qualities and the most delicate instrumental effects." Its "coloring," however, was "sombre and unrelieved like a Franciscan's habit." A later critic said of it that as operatic performance "it glowed as if lighted from behind." But this was of a *Pelléas et Mélisande* both heard and seen.

Debussy himself recognized this distinction. Refusing the offer of a concert performance of *Pelléas*, he said: "If this work has any merit, it is in the connection between the drama and the music. It is quite obvious that at a concert performance, this connection would disappear . . . [T]he work gains significance only on the stage." In short, the back lighting goes.

Perhaps the drama as seen on stage vibrates in the memory of those who listen to the recorded *Pelléas et Mélisande*. But it seems to me that even so sensitive and vivid a performance as that of Charles Dutoit and the Montreal Symphony Orchestra—which in our living rooms is a "concert" performance—does not overcome Debussy's objections. Without the drama before you, the *grisaille* turns to *gris*, and the attention wanders (London, 2CDs, 430 502-2).

Brief Mention:

■ Haydn's last string quartets—Op. 77, Nos. 1 & 2, and the incompleted Op. 103—receive a strong and faithful traversal by the Takacs Quartet. These were among Haydn's last works, though he completed *The Seasons* and three Masses before declining health forced him to give up composition. The quartets transcend their genre, breaking out of the confines of chamber music and point to the direction which Beethoven would take in his last quartets (London 430 1999-2).

■ Mozart completed his five violin concertos just before his twentieth birthday, and they are perhaps his first truly mature works in both depth and texture. No. 3 in G Major (KV 216) and No. 5 in A Major (K 219) receive the kind of muscular yet informed performance that Itzhak Perlman is known for, with the Vienna Philharmonic conducted by James Levine behind him (Deutsch Grammophone 410 020-2). These complement Nos. 2 & 4 which Anne-Sophie Mutter recorded in more graceful tone and manner with Riccardo Muti and the Philharmonica Orchestra (EMI CDC 7 470112). □

DELECTATIONS

On Manners

TAKI

ONE of the greatest pleasures of my life was quitting America (for good I thought) in order to live in Europe back in 1968. Although staunchly pro-American (Uncle Sam had, after all, saved my native Greece from Communism) I chose no longer to put up with the social and sexual revolution that was sweeping the nation.

Everywhere I looked bearded potheads were spouting Marxist slogans for the television cameras, which did not help my peace of mind. I had seen Communism at work from up close, and some of the bearded ones reminded me of their Greek counterparts in the Forties.

The campuses and the nation's capital were no exception. The former had all the dignity of a race riot, and the latter the stateliness of a bar brawl. Worse, the Sixties generation had decided that solipsism was more important than humanism, and under the guise of protest for a better world, rudeness had become *de riguer* and boorishness a virtue. It was hip to be discourteous, trendy to act primitive, and "in" to be coarse.

Now there are many things I get wrong in life—too many to list in this short space—but I cannot remember ever getting it more wrong than I did

(Continues on page 60)

Taki Theodoracopulos, who writes the "High Life" column for The Spectator *in London, is the author of* Nothing to Declare *(Atlantic Monthly Press).*

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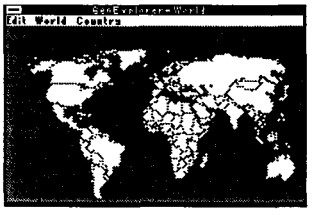

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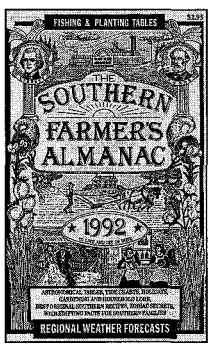

TAKI

(Continued from page 58)

back then. For starters, the republic did not collapse under the ashes of pot and burnt bras. The likes of Hoffman, Rubin, and Fonda did not end up in Washington, D.C., and a man with the initials RR moved into the White House. Best of all, manners made a comeback. Even Jerry Rubin, no gentleman, began wearing a tie.

Mind you, where I got it wrong was that most people still believed in old-fashioned virtues like not swearing in public and men opening doors for women. In fact, Americans are a lot more good mannered, tolerant, and reticent than they're given credit for. Inside many American men is a chivalrous knight waiting to go to the rescue of a damsel in distress, and many an American woman still wants to be treated like a lady.

Which brings me to the point I'd like to make now that those clowns like Kennedy, Biden, and Metzenbaum have managed to turn a confirmation hearing into a spectacle even the Sixties generation would have been appalled to be part of. Old-fashioned manners are sometimes dismissed as being about form rather than substance. What people forget is that form is precisely what is needed in order for people to treat each other tolerably, even when they dislike each other. No gentleman would lie as blatantly as the senator who leaked Miss Hill's name to the press. No cause is worth sacrificing one's principles, which means that the unholy troika mentioned above has neither manners nor principles.

In England, where hypocrisy is not thought of as the greatest social evil, discretion and decency are forced upon the Fourth Estate by strict libel laws. What a great pleasure it would be to see the American media practice the kind of restraint that is imposed on their British colleagues. Instead, the media in America stand by eagerly to report and participate in the instant character assassination of the victim.

Common decency took a terrible body blow four years ago, when yet again the unholy troika went to work on an honest man, Robert Bork. The slime and unsubstantiated charges hurled at Bork were trumpeted with gleeful hoops and hollers by the media. It was not the media's finest hour. In fact, if one were honest, one would never ever again begin a speech to the media by calling them ladies and gentlemen. Demeaners and destroyers would be more apt an address.

Perhaps it sounds stuffy, but manners are just as important as morals. Manners have little to do with a man's outer attributes—birth, rank, education—but, rather, involve his inner qualities of character and behavior. So, just as Americans, after awhile, sent the potheads to hell and Ronald Reagan to the White House, so should Americans in the Nineties send the politically correct preachers to that sauna-like place below. What the multiculturist creeps say they want might sound fine and noble in theory, but a classless society is in fact one of the greatest cons and con phrases of all time. All it is in reality is conferring a sort of holiness on those who profess to yearn for it.

What really causes advancement and superiority is correct logical thinking, and what has raised the West above other cultures is logical correctness, not political. Since nearly everybody belongs to one minority or another, being either tall or short, fat or thin, young or old, bald or hairy, rich or poor, black or white, Christian or Jew, it is ludicrous even to pretend that it is politically incorrect to call a fat slob a fat slob. After all, the best definition of a gentleman is the one who says that a gent never wounds unintentionally.

There are times when a spade should be called a spade, no pun intended, just as there are times when men should dominate women through protection, and to hell with those who oppose that notion. Manners make the man, and the more men have manners, the easier it is for society to function. Ditto for the fairer sex.

I once debated in the Oxford Union, and although it was a rowdy affair—an Oxford tradition—it possessed plenipotential dignity when compared to the Clarence Thomas affair. This is because everyone debating had rudimentary manners, and no one lied or tried devious and vicious manuevers.

Personally, the perfect manners are those natural ones. Those which put other people before one's self without thinking about it. If everyone adhered to those natural manners, political correctness would be laughed off campus. The trouble is that those who want PC have no manners and are not about to think of others. Manners, however, are to PC what garlic is to vampires. Or better yet, what Ronald Reagan was to Communism. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 L	2 M	3 E		4 I	5 C	6 Q	7 H		8 A	9 F	10 J	11 R		12 O	13 B	14 G	15 S	16 M	17 C	
18 K	19 U	20 H	21 N	22 L	23 A		24 J	25 E		26 D	27 T	28 A	29 I	30 P	31 H	32 B	33 N		34 F	35 K
	36 O	37 R		38 E	39 L	40 Q	41 M	42 C	43 H	44 U	45 B		46 L	47 A	48 S	49 M		50 K	51 J	52 I
	53 D	54 P	55 R	56 T		57 H	58 E	59 C	60 D	61 L		62 G	63 M		64 K	65 B		66 F	67 A	68 N
69 D		70 P	71 M	72 E	73 B	74 I		75 O	76 R	77 C	78 S	79 F	80 Q		81 M	82 T	83 E	84 K	85 L	86 U
	87 C	88 I		89 R	90 G	91 N	92 B	93 O		94 Q	95 D	96 I		97 P	98 F	99 A	100H	101Q	102T	103R
	104O	105A	106D		107F	108P	109B		110S	111N	112J	113H	114E	115C	116U	117P	118M		119D	120K
121R	122A	123U		124I	125B	126N	127E	128M	129K	130L	131Q	132G	133C	134H	135J	136S		137R	138L	139F
140P	141K	142A	143H	144B	145J		146L	147S		148N	149A	150O	151I	152D		153O	154T	155P		156S
157L	158J		159S	160J		161N	162Q	163D	164U	165M	166H	167F		168C	169E	170U		171F	172S	
173T	174I	175L		176C	177E	178G	179L	180M	181I	182H										

DEFINITIONS

A. America's Cuban home — 28 122 47 99 8 105 23 67 142 149

B. Ted Bundy's fate — 32 109 65 92 73 45 125 13 144

C. Los Angeles college — 168 176 42 87 77 59 115 133 5 17

D. Superfluous — 26 95 69 163 106 60 119 152 53

E. This "effect" is a current buzzword — 114 127 58 3 83 177 72 169 25 38

F. Make-up component — 139 79 98 66 9 34 167 171 107

G. What many a soldier must stand — 14 178 62 132 90

H. Unconcerned — 113 100 31 43 134 20 143 182 166 57 7

I. Liberal's type of compliment — 52 151 4 74 174 29 88 124 181 96

J. Leeway — 51 10 158 24 145 135 112 160

K. Holy days — 129 84 120 64 50 141 18 35

L. These doctors frame their work — 146 130 39 157 179 175 85 138 22 46 1 61

M. Hebrew words of testing (Judges 12:4-6) — 81 165 41 180 71 63 16 128 118 2 49

N. When these blow, it usually means trouble (2 words) — 68 161 21 148 91 111 33 126

O. William Pitt's earldom — 104 93 153 75 12 36 150

P. City in southern Afghanistan — 97 70 117 155 108 54 140 30

Q. Confiscate, in legalese — 131 80 6 40 101 162 94

R. County SW of Richmond, Va. — 37 121 137 11 76 89 55 103

S. Unspeakably — 110 156 15 147 172 78 159 136 48

T. Kept, after all expenses — 154 82 173 56 27 102

U. Carry to term — 164 86 44 170 116 123 19

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 59 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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Is America Isolationist?

LONDON, OCTOBER 15

The seminar was conducted under what are called "Chatham House Rules." That means you can say who was at the conference and what was said. But you cannot say who said what, and you must not put anything between quotation marks.

The principal figure at this seminar, organized by the National Review Institute, was Margaret Thatcher. Henry Kissinger was there for a full day, and other guests included philosophers, politicians, journalists, and men of affairs. The rubric of the conference was: What will be the politics of the post-Communist world? A central question had to do with the implications of a renascent American isolationism.

This theme was energetically contested by one participant. Look, he said, what is this about American isolationism? We are talking about a country that, before the First World War, had twice invaded Canada, once Mexico, annexed the whole of the Southwest, conquered and ruled the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

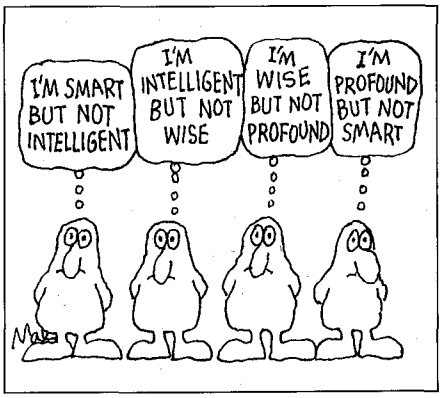
The kind of isolationism associated with America, he went on, was a phenomenon that began with the defeat of the League of Nations and ended with Pearl Harbor. And that isolationism was principally fueled by two ethnic elements in the U.S. Irish-Americans could not bear to go into a war alongside Great Britain. And German-Americans hated to go to war against Germany. But those obstacles were in due course settled, and the U.S. went lustily to war the day after Pearl Harbor and has been busily engaged in world affairs ever since.

He asked then, where are the voices of isolationism? The principal voices of American conservatism are ruggedly internationalist, in the sense of accepting the historical responsibility visited upon America in virtue of its inheriting historical decisive power. They are NATIONAL REVIEW and the *Wall Street Journal*, he said. Moreover, it was the Republican Party that was the principal backer of George Bush's defiance of Iraq, the Democrats in the Senate giving him only marginal support. The legislative voices of conservatism in the Senate were non-isolationist in that episode.

The principal voices of paleo- and neo-conservatism are conscientiously aware of international responsibilities. They include George Will, Charles Krauthammer, and William Safire, to mention only a few. What you have, said the speaker, is prominence given primarily to a single columnist, Pat Buchanan, and a journal (*Chronicles*) of small circulation; plus libertarians, who are against almost any state activity, including lighthouses.

The speaker did not go on to suggest that the United States is anxious to swoop down on Yugoslavia to rearrange its frontiers. There had to be a perceived need, as there was when Mr. Reagan moved against Grenada and Libya, and Mr. Bush against Panama and Iraq. What, someone asked, might such a perceived need for U.S. military force be in the foreseeable future? Answer, the acquisition, by a country of dubious reliability, of nuclear or biological or chemical weapons. Asked another conferee: Would it, by the scale you measure the problem, have been a responsibility of the U.S. to interfere in a frontier war between Chile and Argentina over the Beagle Channel in 1980? Answer: No. Conflicts of that nature are self-regulatingly resolvable, requiring of America only that we volunteer to make available our good offices.

The speaker in question was persuasive. But it is my sense of the question that he is not entirely aware of certain trends most heatedly at work in the Mid-



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west. Primarily, there are Americans there especially indignant over what they consider the free ride the rest of the world is getting from American military expenditures. To this observation, the speaker pointed out that the United States got a free ride from Britain during most of the nineteenth century, when the British fleet kept the peace throughout the world, while the U.S. after the Civil War, all but disbanded its military.

Another participant said the precedent was important in respect of both Germany and Japan. Whereas the U.S. was the wealthiest country in the world for fifty years before Pearl Harbor, it did little or nothing during the critical years, 1919–1941, to stem the totalitarian tide. By the same token, Japan and Germany are tempted to do nothing. They suffer the trauma of their own excessive militarism in days relatively recently gone by; and they, well—trust the power of the U.S., which approaches a monolith with the disintegration of the USSR. □

The Children's Hour

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25

John O'Connor, television reviewer for the *New York Times*, writes about the race in the television world to end the virginity of its heroes and heroines at an early age, 18 or less, the alternative being, well, unthinkable. "Curiously," writes Mr. O'Connnor, "this particular boom is taking place in the AIDS era, when young people are more than ever being lectured on the fail-safe virtues of sexual abstinence. That is certainly one route to go but, obviously, television finds the other more enticing and, just possibly, more ratings-effective."

It is interesting that the critic pays so little attention to any possibility of protest against the creeping lubricity of the media, and this isn't because Mr. O'Connor doesn't know how to protest. It is that we are increasingly intimidated into sheer fatalism in such matters. If a grand jury doesn't find the photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe obscene, then we may as well abandon any thought that the word can survive.

But more interesting, really, than the abandon-all-hope attitude of the TV critics, who are above all things afraid of provoking the condescension of the intellectuals, is the aggressiveness with which little children are now being taught to address us, and I have something very specific in mind, sent along by

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the Media Research Center. It is a collection of thirty-second spots put out by something called Esprit. One would not know from the ads that they manufacture sportswear. One would think that Esprit was manufacturing Protest.

That is what you see in those ads, and all the protest is coming from boys and girls of all ages, ranging from, I'd guess, five, to, oh, 15. What you get in these spots is what the children are saying to one another, reflecting their disillusionment with the world they live in.

In the first of the series you miss the first two or three words (someone should protest the enunciation of our little children) but your ears pick up, "I don't think it's right, it's not our world to destroy." And then, "The powers that be are the powers we should blame." Who could they be talking about? Not Russia.

Another: Two girls talking, age about 15. "I am a natural-born pessimist. You are not. I am, everything I think like it's because I write, a lot of deep poetry, you know, and philosophical things. I mean, I think I just generally think negative, and I kinda wish I could change that—" That is the entire ad, leaving the viewer also kinda wishing that she could change all that. But what made her pessimistic?

"I'd say put all the generals in their little room and—stop treating drug use as a criminal offense and treat it as a health problem." To a little black boy, "South Africa is the only country in Africa that's not free." So much for that little boy's teachers (only seven of the 52 countries in Africa are functioning democracies, *my* teachers inform me).

Esprit's tots are very hot on political action. "We have to speak out more, we have to vote, we have to be aware of the laws that are being passed, we have to go on marches . . ." Why? What should we go on marches for? Free condoms?

Another. "You know what, it starts with one thing" (this is a girl, about 14) "like abortion or telling you what records you cannot buy. Before you know . . . it's what clothes you should wear, and who you should date and how many children you should have . . ."

And still another from another girl, who in college will major, you can bet your life on it, in Political Correctness: "I'd be, if I was President, the environmental and education President like George Bush was supposed to be. People should have the right to buy what records they want." A boy this time, black: "You can't really expect blacks to relate to and use a white history because it is a white history." And then another girl. "Keep a woman's right to choose . . . unless George Bush is free to babysit."

Well, well, $8 million worth of that kind of thing. I want to know one thing: Presumably the kiddie junk-thought was dreamed up by some advertising agency on the assumption that it is going to drive us toward Esprit. If that's true, I'll become as fatalistic as the TV critic. Either that, or maybe go on marches. □

Patching Up the Mess

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 18

David Brinkley likes to tell the story of how Byron White got nominated to the Supreme Court. Well you see, JFK needed a stout Kennedy hand in Colorado, and former football hero Whizzer White raised his hand and became a member of the select Pro-Kennedy Before Los Angeles, which is how the true believers identified themselves after the nomination and election, to distinguish them from the mere opportunists who became Kennedyites after the nomination, who are in turn to be distinguished from the great mass of people who became Kennedyites after Dallas.

Anyway, Whizzer was a corporation lawyer with a lot of influence, which he used to help round up delegates. After the election he became Deputy Attorney General, but only briefly. President Kennedy then appointed him to the Supreme Court. As Mr. Brinkley tells it nostalgically, "He came into the hearing room, and was asked eight questions, and 11 minutes after he began, the hearing ended, he was confirmed, and he's done a pretty good job," pleasing some people, displeasing some people.

Interestingly enough, Justice White voted against *Roe* v. *Wade*, the Supreme Court decision that is turning the nomination process into a "This Is Your Life" melodrama. Reflections on how to improve the process are everywhere being considered. Mr. Bush has suggested something ought to be done about it, but in respect of the X-rated session just behind us, went no further than to wonder why the Senate Committee hadn't gone over certain of the material it wanted to confront, in executive session. Think as you like about *Roe*, but Washington lawyer–philosopher Steven Umin is undoubtedly correct when he says pensively that it was a decision that has all but destroyed the Supreme Court. This is a position both sides on the abortion issue should agree upon. The political and emotional passions invested in that decision make every nominee the subject of torrid curiosity, inasmuch as the Court is pretty evenly divided on whether *Roe* v. *Wade* was sound constitutional improvisation.

When Robert Bork was defeated, the law arrived at a landmark. His defeat was an act of raw bullying by senators whose fear of Bork's intellectual prowess made them nervous, hysterical, and demagogic. The underground legal rumor in Washington is to the effect that after the defeat of Bork, followed by the withdrawal of Douglas Ginsburg, what the White House did was to poke about informally with key Senate members in order to avoid collisions like the one we have just passed through.

Mr. Umin, who is a member of the firm of Williams and Connolly and who clerked for Justice Potter Stewart, believes there is something to be learned from the process by which judges for the local courts in the District of Columbia are named. What happens there is that a commission surveys applicants to serve on the court (they are of course free themselves to take the initiative in enticing a lawyer that catches their favorable attention). It then comes up with a list of three, and sends these to the White House. The President has sixty days to select whichever candidate it most appeals. If none is accepted, the commission appoints one of the three, who is then routinely confirmed by the Senate. The composition of the commission is wonderfully complicated: There are seven members, one named by the President, two by the D.C. bar, one by the City Council, two by the mayor of Washington, and one by the chief judge of the District Court.

An interesting adaptation would have the Senate sending three names to the President with an invitation to select the one that most appeals to him. If the President didn't like any, the Senate would submit three more names.

By such means, constitutional prerogatives would be preserved: the President reserving the right to nominate, but exercising the political judgment required to send along someone who doesn't get humiliated by the process, doesn't expose the Senate to the ignominy it so often deserves, and continues to give the President the right to influence the Court with reference to the mandate that took him to the White House.

It is an idea worth trying. Its only hope for success, obviously, would be if the Judiciary Committee of the Senate seriously attempted to find candidates whose juridical views were harmonious with those of the President. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Beltspeak

ONE OF the perks of being a member in good standing of the Washington establishment is that you never have to expend too much energy on conversation. Before long you learn to speak in a kind of shorthand, capable of conveying large amounts of information in a few choice words. Say we're talking about the defense budget. I mention cost overruns for the B-2 bomber. You smile wanly and say: "Six-hundred-dollar toilet seats."

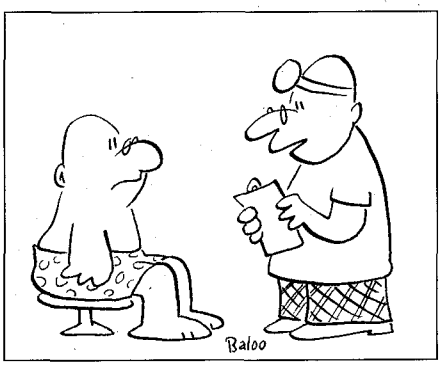
Of course! As two establishmentarians, we know the Pentagon's vast potential for waste was perfectly expressed in that long-ago scandal involving overpriced toilet seats and tack hammers that cost $4,947 (or $6,182—who remembers the details anymore?). If either of us demurs, and points out that the Pentagon never actually paid $600 for a toilet seat, that it was a misinterpreted convention of the accounting system, two things will happen: the conversation will end, and one of us will be kicked out of the Washington establishment.

The crucial element of Washington conversation is the unexamined factoid whose truth is simply taken for granted. Translating Beltway language so that it's intelligible to those outside the establishment is a burdensome task seldom undertaken. The other day poor Michael Kranish of the *Boston Globe* earnestly offered this taste of Washington life for his readers: "A joke making the rounds in Washington illustrated the Democratic strategy. Question: What's the difference between a massive Republican defense cut and a massive Democratic defense cut? Answer: A Republican cut costs extra money, while a Democratic cut could restore funding for every domestic cut made by Presidents Reagan and Bush—and have money left over to put a Democrat in the White House."

Mr. Ferguson is an editorial writer for the Scripps Howard News Service.

Maybe this doesn't strike you as a side-splitter, but I can guarantee that in the *Globe*'s Washington bureau they were rolling on the carpet after Mike uncorked this little funny. You had to be there. And for those of us who are there—here—it's remarkable how convenient the Beltway shorthand can be. I was standing in line at a lunch counter recently while two fellows discussed the Thomas sexual-harassment hearings. "It's Willie Horton all over again," said one fellow. "Exactly," said the other. "Lee Atwater risen from the grave," said the first guy. "Right, right," the other agreed.

Allow me to translate. The 1988 presidential campaign was the dirtiest in the history of representative government, a shock to the system of every sensitive soul; this was owing entirely to Republican dirty tricks, the capper of which was the mention of Governor Dukakis's furlough program; Lee Atwater injected race into the campaign by approving a commercial that implied Willie Horton benefited from the furlough program and that Horton's victim, who did (ahem) die, might not have so benefited; Democrats, desperately clinging to their customary civility, refused to counter such gutter tactics; and hence lost. And further: The Republicans similarly smeared the proud and noble black woman who dared raise her voice against the Republican toady Clarence Thomas.



"Your cholesterol and blood sugar are okay, Senator, but your sleaze factor is way out of line."

Admire the economy of this method of speaking: A 15-word conversation actually conveys 113 words of information, if you don't count the "ahem." Washingtonians are like those whales who, according to some whale experts, can communicate their size, location, feeding habits, and mating situation with a single emission of sound.

And so the factoids have begun to accrete around Clarence Thomas and the sexual-harassment hearings that bedeviled him. I attended the hearings on Saturday, and was amazed, during one of the recesses, to hear Maureen Dowd of the *New York Times* pester Senator Arlen Specter about "Thomas's history of using pornography." Specter looked puzzled. Miss Dowd helpfully mentioned a *Times* report from days before dealing with Thomas and porn. Later that day a friend—likewise a member in good standing of the Washington establishment—told me that Anita Hill's charges were perfectly plausible, given that Thomas was a "porn freak." He too mentioned the *New York Times* story.

Thus is a factoid born, and it's the nature of the beast that it can never be rescinded. But history should note that it rests on a brief quote from a law-school friend of Thomas who said that as a law student he once joked about a porno movie he had seen. The friend continued: "We would have been hypocrites to have been offended since very few of us failed to attend one or more similar films that were shown on the Yale University campus while we were in school."

THIS IS a slim reed on which to hang the charge of "porn freak," of course, but no slimmer than the support for the overpriced tack hammer or the charge that mentioning furlough programs is racist. In the Washington lexicon, "Orrin Hatch" and "Alan Simpson" might now become synonyms for Torquemada, except nobody in Washington has ever heard of Torquemada. Their names will, however, become shorthand for race-baiting, and win-at-any-cost bullying. "Clarence Thomas" will denote lackeyism, tinged with sexual perversion. As for Anita Hill, her name will be elevated into the pantheon alongside Willie Horton's—two symbols of purity and good government, made martyrs by Republican foul play. —ANDREW FERGUSON

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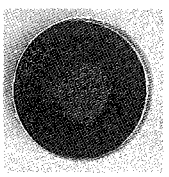

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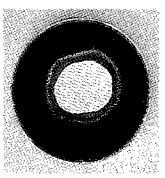

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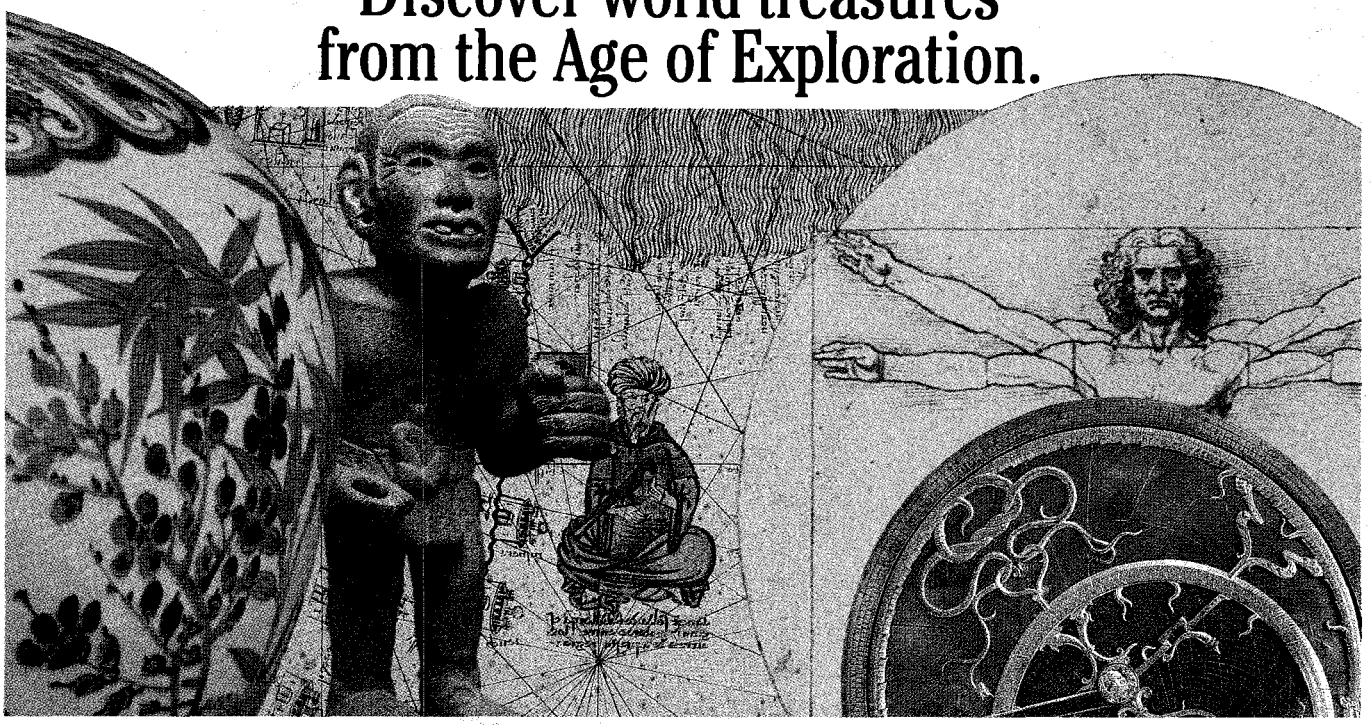

Credits from left to right, details of: Blue and White Porcelain Jar with Plum and Bamboo Decorations, Ho-Am Art Museum, Kyunggi-Do, Korea; Xiuhtecuhtli as an Old Man, CNCA-INAH, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City; Atlas Catalan, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Leonardo da Vinci's Vitruvian Man, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; Astrolabe of Alphanus Severus, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.

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National Gallery of Art
Washington, D.C.
October 12, 1991-January 12, 1992

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